

# Thousand Flowers

## Journal of the Ceylon Communist Party-Maoist (CCP-M)

*“Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend!  
Let a Thousand Flowers Bloom”*  
—Mao

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## **Editorial**

Thousand Flowers is intended to train a new generation of revolutionaries in grasping and applying the science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism as a foundation for building the Ceylon Communist Party-Maoist . The objective is to build a new leadership that can formulate and solve the concrete problems of the Sri Lanka revolution. Through critical analysis and discussion, Thousand Flowers hopes to charter the scientific theory, strategy and path of the Lankan revolution.

### **Summation Of The World Proletarian Socialist Revolution (WPSR) And Our Burning Tasks.**

The WPSR has developed through scaling the peaks of the Immortal Paris Commune, the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Today, it is being blazed through the peoples wars being waged and the preparations being made for seizing proletarian state power by the Communist parties and organizations represented by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The blood of the heroic martyrs of the Paris Commune established the dictatorship of the proletariat and forged the science of Marxism. The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed masses in Russia to establish, defend and advance the proletarian dictatorship developed the science of Marxism to the new stage of Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed masses in China to defend and advance the proletarian dictatorship and seize state power from the revisionist- capitalist headquarters within the top leadership of the Communist Party raised the science of Marxism-Leninism to the new stage of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism.

### **New Wave Of Proletarian Revolution:**

With the loss of the proletarian dictatorship in both the Soviet Union and China through capitalist-revisionist restoration, the world proletarian socialist revolution faced a most serious set-back. However, the genuine communist revolutionaries have regrouped as the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement –(RIM) in order to build and advance the WPSR towards the greatest qualitative leap yet in achieving the goal of Communism. As the system of imperialism lurches towards a new spiral of global crisis and war, revolutionary forces and oppressed masses across the world are raising their resistance, rebellion and revolutionary struggle against the system. Already, as part of the advanced detachments of the RIM, great advances have been made by Maoist communist parties and organisations in building towards a new wave of world revolution.

### **Clearing the path of the Lankan revolution:**

Sri Lanka too is undergoing a protracted structural crisis for which there is no solution except people's democratic revolution. Our heroic people have fought foreign aggressors and their local enforcers for centuries. So many generations have shed their blood. In our modern era itself, several generations of revolutionary youth in the South and the North have sacrificed their lives for the sake of national liberation. Yet, all these struggles have not delivered liberation. At present, the fate of the Tamil national liberation struggle is to be decided through a new round of war! Will the fate of the Tamil nation be decided by the oppressed masses or by a coalition of imperialist powers and their regional-local enforcers? Whether through war or peace, world imperialism, along with regional expansionism continues to bleed the people and rob the country blind. There is no hope for the people except to wage democratic revolution and advance to

Socialism, as part of advancing the world revolution. It is in this decisive conjuncture that we have to race and catch up with this rising objective situation and perform our burning tasks. Let us together make Thousand Flowers a source of learning to apply the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and advancing the world revolution.

## THE GATHERING STORM

### Sketching The Political Landscape.

There is a political storm gathering in the skies over Lanka. It will be more furious and devastating than the storms we have endured before. The two major Capitalist parties propping up the system – the United National Party-UNP and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party-SLFP- are at each other's throats. The feudal-colonial state is being fractured beyond repair under the strain of rivalry among irrevocably polarized centers of power and authority. The ruling class is divided and the rival parties will not unite, even though the crisis may engulf all of them. They are driven by mutually exclusive agendas and political alliances. They are enmeshed in a desperate dog-eat-dog struggle for power and survival. They are being propelled by their own interest to represent the most reactionary class alliances and agendas. They must provoke violence against each other as they must inflict violence on the people as a condition of their existence. That is their historical role. United or divided, neither these parties nor their leaders can control, let alone resolve the contradictions and the social demons that they themselves represent and unleash. Through war and peace, foreign powers work underhand to manipulate and penetrate the political process to pursue their strategic interests. The whole country is being mined with systems of counter-insurgency, including rapid deployment forces, electronic surveillance and intelligence networks. Squads of paramilitary commandos and army deserters serve a host of unknown commanders. Armed groups coalesce across the ethnic divide to liquidate their common targets. Fundamentalist- fascist forces are organizing armed groups to wage war against all democratic/ progressive forces and against any possibility of a negotiated political settlement. These forces have already begun a campaign of terror against all "alien" nationalities and religious communities. We are to witness violence, chaos, anarchy and terror on a scale not yet visited. The issue of state power is to be decided by the force of arms in open combat among death-dealing players.

The storm will not pass away. It will wreak its vengeance more furiously than before. This is because the system has jumped gear and is hurtling downhill gathering its own speed towards its doom. This time it will be a fight to the finish. All enemies are to be vanquished leaving no possibility for peaceful resolution nor coexistence. The storm is already gathering. The gathering storm is designed to unleash every form of anti-human violation. It is to rouse violent hatred against all that is `alien and impure'. It is to `exorcise the demons' defined as the other. The state shall unleash even more barbaric terror against the people and try to divert their class hatred against each other. Once again, war clouds gather in the North-East. A state of civil and national war dosed with communal pogroms and individual assassinations characterizes the emerging political landscape. The familiar reign of white terror and counter-terror wiping out our collective identity, dignity and humanity may visit us. Are we to face a demented replay of the darkest hour? Are we to hide in the dungeons of our minds in mute, paralytic fear? All this, while foreign predators back their horses, arm their contingents, dig their trenches and lurk in ambush to devour us all that much better! The privileged will run and hide in green pastures. The masses will be slaughtered and offered as sacrificial lambs at the alter of the emperors and their enforcers. This is the logic of the system

## **The System Needs To Be Forcibly Uprooted From Bottom Up.**

It is unthinkable that we would face a political storm more devastating and savage than what we have already endured. What we have already endured is a violation of Nature. We have been sliced, split and rent apart by the most grotesque violence. We have been made to slaughter each other. We have been stripped naked in the eyes of the world not as heirs to an ancient and glorious civilization, but as barbarians who devour each other in the regular manner of their social organization. We have endured the systematic terror of the state as our way of life. Mass massacres, illegal abductions and killings, the most hideous forms of torture, bestial sexual violence against women and children, reeking corruption, open thuggery and intimidation. We have endured two violent abortive insurgencies in the South and a protracted national liberation-secessionist war in the North-East. Through all these processes, the masses have been the lambs to be slaughtered. And they have been slaughtered – nearly 100,000 youth –Sinhala-Tamil and Moslem- in the span of just three decades or more. And the system continues to rot and decay. It rules only through deception, division and violence. The cataclysmic political storms unleashed by this system are but the violent spasms of a social organism in its death throes. The volcanic implosions of an archaic, defunct state and political order driven to self-destruction through the workings of its own internal, irreconcilable contradictions.

## **Siting Our Horizons**

Those who can think and see beyond the system, those who believe in the infinite wonders of nature and place their faith in the suffering masses, those who have the courage to dream and be led by a vision of freedom- such forces must unite in a sacred bond to defeat the multiple forces of evil destruction. We must communicate, share our knowledge and experience, develop and sharpen our scientific, philosophical and theoretical sights. On this basis, we must organize independent forms of resistance and class struggle to build the organized unity, scientific consciousness, iron discipline and fighting capacity of the proletariat, in unity with the oppressed masses, as the one invincible creative historical force that can finally overthrow and bury this system once and for all and lay claim to a new world. Nothing short of forcibly uprooting this system and planting the new shoots of freedom can overcome the storm.

The global imperialist order is lurching towards ultimate destruction. George Bush is waging a permanent war against the people of the world to assert the position of the US as the undisputed sole nuclear super power. Other imperialist powers are grabbing all they can and consolidating their empires as they face the US drive for world domination. The intensifying rivalry among these predator powers can lead to the outbreak of a Third Thermo-Nuclear World War far more devastating than the two world wars unleashed by the system combined. The future of humankind and of planet earth is at stake. These are the momentous times we live in. We must join forces with the rising tide of mass anti-imperialist resistance and proletarian socialist revolution across the world to bury this global system of domination forever. For this, we must grasp and apply the scientific laws of social revolution. We must raise our sights to the summits of the Himalayas and learn the science and art of mass revolutionary struggle for achieving universal human emancipation. We must live up to our historic responsibilities and tasks. For this, we must arm ourselves with scientific philosophy, ideology, theory a strategic plan and program, and engage in critical analysis and raise our organized revolutionary practice. We must know the world in order to transform it. We must build the Ceylon Communist Party-Maoist on new foundations based on the all-conquering science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism, as the vanguard



party of the international proletariat in our country. This is the way to overcome the storm and advance humankind to a new era of history without violence and war. We can do it if we dare to scale the heights.

# **The Imperialist Global War Agenda And The Tasks Of The People.**

## **Introduction:**

The attacks on key US targets on September 11th 2001 changed the political landscape of the earth. These attacks coincide with a dramatic downward slide into a cycle of crisis and recession in the US economy, which threatens its position as the unrivalled superpower in the world. These attacks have been used by the US ruling class to introduce a permanent state of war aimed at further consolidating its global political and military hegemony. World politics today is being driven by the US policy of establishing undisputed supremacy throughout the Middle-East and Caspian region as the axis from which to re-impose undisputed political, economic and military hegemony globally, with the US as the sole and supreme super power. World politics is defined today by the threat to humankind posed by this policy and the mounting resistance to it by the people of the world.

## **Unilateral Declaration of a Permanent State of War.**

There is no solution to the crisis for the US empire short of waging global war. War can secure decisive control of the oil fields of the Middle-East and the Caspian region which continue to be the critical lifelines through which global hegemony could be exercised economically, politically and strategically. This is what the wars against the people of Afghanistan and Iraq were about. These wars are intended to establish more loyal puppet regimes and military bases for the US, designed to exercise decisive and exclusive military-strategic control over the entire Middle-East-Caspian region. The demonstration of military superiority and the will to execute it is the only way to force all other states, regimes, nations, peoples, movements and organizations to capitulate to US imperialist hegemony. The global war agenda is to hold the world hostage to a permanent state of nuclear terror as the only way out for a dying empire. A permanent state of war facilitates strategic penetration into the neo-colonies, provides conditions to subject their resources, markets and labor to even more naked plunder and exploitation and to suppress the masses even more ruthlessly, and unleash counter-revolutionary repression against the rising tide of anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle in the world. Finally, war is the only way to

pump up the sinking US economy by injecting new dynamism into its military-industrial economic base. War is the only resolution to the extreme crisis of world imperialism. The logic and spiral of war initiated by the US may lead to a Third Inter-Imperialist World War. The only way to turn this logic around and to prevent such an escalation is for the people of the world to organize their forces to seize the time, seize the stage of history, seize state power wherever possible and build a world free of imperialism and WAR.

The US has abrogated all international treaties limiting the deployment of nuclear weapons, including the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM). The US Congress has adopted the Nuclear Posture Profile through which the US gains the right to deploy tactical nuclear weapons in a conventional war and it has listed a series of countries, including Russia and China, as potential targets. Through this, the US has announced its intention to use tactical nuclear weapons anywhere and everywhere as it deems fit. It has pushed through its National Missile Defense (NMD) system and hiked up its defense budget to a staggering \$ 344 billion. Parallel with these developments, the US has refused to abide by all international conventions aimed at ensuring

global ecological survival, including the Kyoto Protocol. The crisis of the US economy and the drive towards a permanent state of war has literally and fatally threatened the very existence of humankind and the planet earth, and this is not mere rhetoric!

George Bush, President of the United States of America, the guardian of freedom and civilisation, has declared the policy framework in which he is going to address its crisis in typical cowboy fashion. The essence of this policy framework and its implications can be summarized as follows: " Either you are with us or you against us, and if you are against us we will reduce you to rubble. We will destroy you and we will unilaterally use nuclear weapons to do so, and this applies to countries, nations, movements and whomsoever anywhere in the world! We are going to launch a holy crusade with all our military might. And just to prove that we are serious, we have bombed the hell out of Afghanistan and Iraq. Next in line are Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Sudan, Libya, Somalia, North Yemen, North Korea, Nepal, and perhaps Saudi Arabia – if we feel the need to do so.. We are going to beef up the military arsenal of Israel and back all genocidal aggression against the Palestinian liberation struggle to crush its resistance. We are consolidating a strategic alliance with India to crush all revolutionary resistance in the South Asian region, and we have gained access to all land, sea and air facilities in Sri Lanka to wage our global war. So get the message! We are going all out to ensure another American century, even if it means a Third World War. We are going to defend, expand and consolidate our empire even if it means that we have to incinerate and slaughter hundreds of millions of people, wipe out whole nations, countries and civilizations and turn the earth into a scorching genocidal furnace. We are going to do this with or without the support of the other imperialist powers. This is the depth of our crisis and this is how we are going to solve it!" This is the agenda as declared and executed by George Bush on behalf of the US empire. This, and only this, is the future held out to the oppressed people of the world under the system. This is the essence of the US-led Global War Against Terrorism in which all the rest of the imperialist powers and their neo-colonial regimes have found their survival. For all its fervor and fury, the policy of implementing such a state of permanent war is a symptom of extreme crisis and decay and expresses desperate weakness of a system for fighting for survival.

### **A Catalogue of Terrorist Crimes Against Humanity**

We hold the US, along with the other imperialist powers, fundamentally responsible for generating international terrorism. The people of the world are quite aware of the catalogue of terrorist crimes against humanity carried out by the US, including the nuclear devastation of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, the genocidal devastation and destruction of life and property in the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guatemala, Indochina, Indonesia, North Korea, Grenada, Nicaragua, Colombia, Panama, Chile, Iraq, Sudan, Somalia, Libya and so on. History has recorded the pitiless genocide of the Native American Indian population and the continued enslavement of the Afro-American nation, the Chicano nation and other oppressed people within the US itself. The US is also responsible for the genocidal terrorist crimes against the Palestinian people carried out by Israel for over five decades. Of course, we have our own experience of the barbaric terrorism of the Colonial- Imperialist powers, particularly that of the British empire. The imperialist system is responsible for two world wars and for innumerable wars of aggression, which have incinerated, slaughtered and mutilated literally hundreds of millions of people. This system has deprived the right to life of the vast majority of the masses of the world and condemned them to universal degradation, poverty and misery. Now the imperialists plan to incinerate the human species and the planet earth in order to defend and expand their rival empires of blood, plunder and profit. The

moribund and parasitic nature of Imperialism has reached catastrophic proportions threatening the very survival of the human species. This is taking place when today we have the means of liberating the world from the scourge of poverty, starvation, indebtedness, ignorance and insecurity universally and when all humankind can reap the harvest of their collective labor, find their freedom in each other and be the masters of their world and their destiny.

### **Crisis and Recession in the US Economy.**

The fact of the matter is that the US economy has been caught up in a spiral motion of crisis and recession for the past decade. On September 7th 2001, the US released data concerning its economic situation as of August 2001. The growth rate of the GDP in the second quarter was just 0.2%. This is in spite of seven successive cuts in interest rates, a massive infusion of government spending, and a huge tax rebate. Then came September 11. That week witnessed the worst plunge in US stock market history, with share values eroding by \$ 1.4 trillion. Official unemployment rate rose to 4.9 %. There is no question but that the US economy is caught up in a downward spiral of recession and decline which has the effect of fatally threatening its position of unrivalled global imperialist hegemony.

### **Crisis of the Global Imperialist System and the Real Prospect of Third World War.**

The whole imperialist system is overheated and overloaded and will explode with even more devastating violence and destruction on a global scale as never before. The world economy is not based on production to meet human needs, but is driven by manipulations and financial speculations in the stock market. In the year ending March 31,2001, stock markets fell everywhere and over the year \$ 10 trillion was wiped off the global share values. Of this, the US economy lost \$ 5 trillion and India lost \$ 40 billion in market capitalization. Following the September 11th attack, the major stock exchanges suffered the biggest sustained plunge since the great depression.

The recession is taking its grip simultaneously on all the three major economic blocs in the world – Europe, US and Japan. As a result, the World Bank has reported that 10 million more people will fall below the official poverty line of US \$ 1 per day, adding to the billions who are already deprived of the right to life. Globalisation has intensified the polarization between the rich and the poor at a global level and within individual countries. The 1999 UNDP's Human Development Report indicates that " the income gap between the richest fifth of the population and the poorest fifth stood at 3:1 in 1820, 11:1 in 1913, 30:1 in 1970, 60:1 in 1990 and 86:1 by 1997. In 1997 the top 20% earned 86% of world GDP and the bottom 20% a mere 1%. The difference between the per capita incomes of the poor and rich countries increased from 70% in the 1850s to more than 1000% in 1980s. The net wealth of the 10 richest persons is 1 ½ times the total incomes of all the Least Developed Countries.

The crisis of the imperialist system is intensifying all the major national and class contradictions simultaneously. Following the invasion and occupation of Iraq by the US-led The feudal-comprador regimes in the Middle-East loyal to the US such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Jordan face mass rebellions that may fatally threaten their power. The Middle-East will come up for grabs and may develop into a storm center of world revolution. Even though the imperialist powers have temporarily entered into collusion to preserve the system, the efforts by the US to

consolidate its global hegemony and the internal drive of each imperialist empire to expand at the other's expense has intensified inter-imperialist rivalry and contention. There is already sharp division over the US policy of invading Iraq and how to share in the spoils of plunder and exploitation. The US, faced with mounting resistance from the Iraqi people, are desperately asking the rest of the imperialist powers to bail them out. But these imperialists are calculating how to confront the US thrust for global supremacy by increasing their own independent leverage in the region. The pursuit of US ambitions in the Caspian and Central European regions have exacerbated tensions between the US and Russia and will lead to sharp contention. Cracks and tensions have increased in the global imperialist alliance, which is bound to give rise to rival imperialist blocs and further intensify inter-imperialist contention for world supremacy. Regional contentions have also been intensified. The continued imperialist military aggression in Afghanistan has sharpened the rivalry between India and Pakistan, which threatens to blow over into a nuclear confrontation. India and China are engaged in fierce contention to decide the future of Asia.

### **Stand Off Between US and Iran and Prospects for War.**

The stand off between US and Iran blows hot and cold, only to heat up again. This may raise illusions about the real ground situation and the logic and motion propelling both states towards war. We cannot afford to be ignorant or complacent about this issue, since war between the US and Iran will set the whole region ablaze and have catastrophic consequences for the future of humankind.

Clearly, the Bush regime and his team of Neo-Con Christian fundamentalists are already in the process of executing a global war to establish US domination under the cover of the "International War Against Terrorism". It is this team that pushed the US to war in Afghanistan and Iraq. As it is, referring to Iran, George Bush has said " all options are on the table", which leaves open the possibility of a nuclear strike. The US Congress has not seen fit to even question this policy and if Bush has the authority to express it. In the case of Afghanistan and Iraq, the US Congress had capitulated root and branch to the agenda of global domination and conquest relentlessly pushed by Bush and his team. It is quite possible that this team of Neo-Con Christian fundamentalists may go for a nuclear strike against Iran with or without the consent of the Congress or the UN, or arrange for Israel to do so, and then go in for the grab. Going by its official announcements, Israel needs no prodding, as it is itching to take a nuclear hit at Iran in order to further expand its Zionist ambitions and serve its imperialist masters. In order to grasp the diabolical logic and motion propelling the stand off towards the prospect of war, and its very real catastrophic consequences, it is necessary to analyse the interests of the various contending forces and the freedom and necessity they face.

Following the collapse of the Soviet empire, the US rushed into position to seize undisputed global hegemony as the number one super-power. The key to this agenda is seizing unrivalled control over the vast energy resources of the Middle-East/ Caspian region, which fuel the world economy. The grand strategy designed to accomplish this mission centers on redrawing the political landscape of the Middle East and restructuring its political order so as to eliminate all real and potential resistance, and to ensure the stability and survival of its alliance of loyal lackey agents and puppets in the region. The first step in the agenda was to promote Iraq to wage war on Iran, in the hope that it will undermine Iran's power and influence in the region. The second

step was to entice Saddam Hussein to invade Kuwait and then to seize the opportunity to bomb Iraq back to the middle ages. The third step was to exploit the 9/11 air attack on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon, whose real culprits are still shrouded in intrigue and mystery, to invade Afghanistan. The US turned its guns on Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda, which it had beefed up, and the Taliban, which it had brought to power. The fourth step was to bomb what was left of Iraq and occupy it, install a murderous puppet regime - and lay claim to the twelve billion barrels of oil underneath. Alongside of these genocidal invasions and occupations, Israel played its part by intensifying its war of occupation in Palestine, carpet bombing the Hezbollah in Lebanon and bombing Syria. Saudi Arabia and the other Arab lackeys of the US supported the whole game plan, provided military bases and facilities and were rewarded with the plums of blood and plunder. The military capacity of all these states have been further strengthened with billions of dollars, in the context of the stand-off with Iran. The entire Middle-East has thus being turned into a permanent and escalating theatre of war. It is this logic that accounts for the growing prospect of war against Iran by the US, since it now too late to reverse it. There is little option but to see through the agenda at whatever risk and consequence. War, including world war, is the driving logic of the system of world imperialism, based as it on global exploitation and plunder and relentless competition and contention for supremacy.

Make no mistake, the US is currently engaged in developing and implementing plans to attack Iran. It has moved another naval battleship fleet into the area. Bush has instructed the US Strategic Command to draw up contingency plans for a pre-emptive attack, including a nuclear attack on uranium processing sites and centrifuges in Iran, and also to take out the entire military infrastructure in Iran. It is trying desperately to get the UN to impose even more stringent sanctions on Iran, including embargoes on essential items and freezing foreign accounts. All Bush, and the US needs, is a " Gulf of Tonkin" scenario- a scenario manufactured to implicate Iran in an intolerable act of provocation. An act of such provocation where Bush can consensually `override and overrule' the Congress and the UN, if it has to, and deploy NATO and its imperialist allies to wage its war game against Iran, in the name of the God-given mandate to save the free world from tyranny. But why this necessity to attack Iran? After all, the US is bogged down in a sinking quagmire in Iraq and in Afghanistan. All its plans are backfiring and worldwide opposition to its agenda is growing. The US faces an intensifying necessity to bring down the regime in Iran and plant a puppet regime precisely because it is bogged down in this deepening quagmire and because its plans are backfiring on it. The invasion of Iraq has resulted in planting a Shia regime which shares ideological sympathy with the rulers of Iran.

The US cannot afford to pull out of Iraq, lest Iran occupies the vacuum ideologically and politically. Such a development will endanger the hated feudal dynasties of Saudi Arabia and elsewhere. The oppressed masses throughout Arabia may rally to the banner of the Islamic Republic. The US designed political order in the region may collapse like a pack of cards. While the US has got bogged down in this quagmire, Russia has advanced its ambitions for global empire and supremacy. Russia and China and several other states have entered into an alliance called the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which holds its own joint military exercises, although without much fanfare. While colluding with the US in its "international war against terrorism", the European Union is seeking to expand its imperialist empires and establish its global hegemony on its own. The US has no choice but to eradicate the regime in Iran in order to further advance and consolidate its drive for global supremacy. Nor can the Iranian regime

capitulate, since that will be the end of the "Iranian Revolution" and its claim to represent the only true bastion of Islam. This is the logic and motion propelling the stand-off between the US and Iran into a catastrophic war! Just as in the case of Iraq, the threat to attack Iran has nothing whatsoever to do with weapons of mass destruction. It has nothing to do with nuclear capability threatening the free world and humanity. It has everything to do with expanding and consolidating the US empire and its drive to become the undisputed global imperialist super power of the 21st century and beyond! The International Atomic Energy Agency has declared that Iran does not possess nuclear weapons nor pose a threat to global peace with its uranium processing facilities. The Iranian state is implementing its uranium processing program under the approval and supervision of this agency. All independent observers agree that it will take Iran at least ten years to acquire nuclear weapons capability.

We are not about to vouch for Iran's integrity nor its commitment to world peace. Even though the "Iranian Revolution" overthrew the hated and barbaric US-backed regime of the Shah, the Iranian regime has its own black history of brutal oppression and repression, including the suppression of the Sarbedaran Maoists. However, we denounce the foul hypocrisy and the barefaced lies that Iran today represents the main threat to world peace and democracy. It is not Iran, but the US, Russia, Britain, France, Germany, India, China, Pakistan and Israel and other states-all of whom possess offensive nuclear weapons of mass destruction or are part of NATO, that pose the greatest threat to world peace and freedom. The planned US war against Iran is the immediate and imminent threat to world peace and democratic freedom. Indeed, it threatens all life on planet earth. That is why the Anti-Imperialist People's Alliance calls on the people of the world to unite in sustained resistance against the US-Led global war agenda and to fight for a world free of imperialism, domination, exploitation, oppression and War!

The crisis of the imperialist system will compel each imperialist power to further subjugate the neo-colonies and intensify the exploitation of labor power and extract profit more ruthlessly. This will drive the workers and the oppressed masses of the world into even more poverty and ruin. This will further exacerbate the crisis of overproduction when already the major sectors of the world economy are severely under-utilized. Each imperialist power will strive to shift the crisis to other imperialist powers even as they gang up to dump the suffering and sacrifice on the oppressed countries, nations and people. The drive to expand rival empires of profit will bring even more suppression of the oppressed nations and people of the world and they are bound to resist with even more intensity. This will bring on even more fascist repression on the masses and serve to ignite revolutionary struggles worldwide. The logic of this crisis of the imperialist system is bound to lead to a Third Inter-imperialist World War since the post-WW2 system of international relations has become overheated with simmering volatile contradictions and is ripping apart through violent convulsions. The only way to prevent such a world war is by accelerating the world proletarian socialist revolution, in conjunction with building the anti-imperialist resistance of the people of the world against the imperialist global war agenda.

### **Resistance is the Only Answer!**

The past two inter-imperialist world wars were the outcomes of this same logic of crisis. Only this time a third world war will entail incalculable destruction and devastation which will fatally threaten life on planet earth. At the same time, world war has also given rise to qualitative advances and leaps in the development of the revolutionary struggle of the people worldwide aimed at

conquering a new world of freedom. Only such resistance and struggle on a world scale can either prevent another world war, or if such a war of unspeakable horror does break out, to ensure that the people of the world will be in a position to rebuild a world without war upon the ashes of Imperialism! There is already a political basis for building a world people's resistance movement against Imperialism. The people of Palestine have resisted national subjugation and genocidal aggression carried out by the state of Israel, with the backing of the US, for over five decades. The oppressed people in Kashmir have resisted national subjugation by both India and Pakistan for as long a time. The political prisoners of Turkey are resisting fascist terror in their dungeons with exemplary courage and fortitude. The People's Democratic Revolution in Nepal led by the Communist Party of Nepal ( Maoist) has entered a new transitional stage in the form of convening a People's Constitutional Assembly with other anti-Monarchist forces. The oppressed masses of India are waging protracted people's war under Maoist vanguard leadership and making new advances, while confronting fascist state repression. The same is true in the Philippines. Throughout the region of South Asia, revolutionary forces are building anti-feudal, anti-imperialist mass struggle. South Asia has long become a vital storm center of world revolution against imperialism. On a global level, tens of thousand of forces from across the world have repeatedly come together to protest against the rapacious exploitation of the World Bank and the IMF and against treaties of plunder such as the GATT, WTO and TRIPPS, enforced mainly by the Group of 8, in league with the lesser imperialist states. All these historic struggles of people's resistance provide testimony that imperialism is a moribund system which has become the fundamental obstacle in achieving universal emancipation from hunger, ignorance, insecurity, terror and WAR.. They provide living proof that the people of the world will unite their forces and rise up to claim the earth and their freedom. We too must join the ranks of this worldwide people's resistance against imperialism. We must do so now since world imperialism has indeed brought the human species and the planet earth to the brink of destruction.

### **Conspiracy of the Ruling Class**

Today our neo-colonial rulers have sold out our sovereignty and our independence to imperialism and brought the country and the people to face an even more serious and disastrous threat, in order to ensure their political survival. Exploiting the current peace process, the government of Sri Lanka has entered into an " Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement " with the US which would allow the US to freely use all land, sea and air facilities for the execution of this global imperialist war. The US has already begun a program to train and modernize the armed forces and to modernize the intelligence agencies in Sri Lanka. The government has also leased out the strategic oil tanks in the Trincomalee harbor to India. It is no secret that the US and India have entered into a growing strategic partnership to expand and consolidate joint regional hegemony with the aim of suppressing the masses and extinguishing all anti-imperialist struggles of the people of the region. The US has opened an FBI operational base in Delhi! Through these security agreements, this strategic alliance has penetrated into the political life of Sri Lanka as never before. The Sri Lankan state, which represents just a small group of parasitic monopoly financiers, merchants and commission agents who are in league with world imperialism and Indian Expansionism, have sold out the sovereignty of the people and the country in the most traitorous manner. This penetration has occurred in the context of imposing the agenda of imperialist globalisation and privatization even more ruthlessly which has already brought destruction and ruin to the economy and people of Sri Lanka. All these maneuvers are to ensure that the rulers may stay afloat and accumulate more fortunes, while drowning the masses in ruin



and despair. The country and the people will be enslaved as never before under the dictates of the World Bank and the IMF, to serve the imperialist lords. Beyond all this, providing military facilities to the US and India will make Sri Lanka target to attack in any regional or global war. It will turn our motherland into a den of prostitution for imperialist soldiers adding to the national disgrace of earning our highest foreign exchange by the sale of slave labor of our mothers and daughters to the oil sheikdoms of the Middle-East.

### **Call to Resist US Imperialist Penetration and Indian Expansionism in Sri Lanka.**

The people of Sri Lanka have suffered direct colonial domination and plunder for nearly five hundred years. Following that, under the system of neo-colonialism, imperialist powers, in league with our rulers, have combined to bleed our people and devastate the country as never before. Under the structural adjustment program and the open market economy, world imperialism has further intensified this domination, ruin and degradation. . Sri Lanka has set world records in the practice of mass massacre, war-related gang rapes, inhuman torture, illegal abductions and killings, suicide, divorce and child abuse. Over one hundred thousand of our sons and daughters have been annihilated by this state. By all social indicators, we have been turned into a pathetic beggar nation, home to a degrading and inhuman culture and governed by a crony capitalist, mafia-fascist state and political system. Neo-colonialism has robbed us all of our dignity and humanity, our independence and sovereignty, our freedom and identity. We call upon all patriotic, progressive people to unite their forces to oppose this agenda. Let us work together towards laying the foundation for liberating our country from imperialist domination, feudal oppression and neo-colonial slavery once and for all. This is only path towards achieving a united, independent and democratic country with dignity, equality and justice for the oppressed nations, communities and people of our beloved land.

# **THE PATH OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION & PROTRACTED PEOPLES WAR: Strategic Path of the Sri Lanka Revolution**

## **Introduction.**

Deciding the strategic path of the revolution is fundamental to its victory. It is a matter of science and requires a serious and committed approach. Deciding the strategic path of the revolution involves the question of determining the specific historical stage of the revolution. The stage of the revolution is itself determined by the level and form of development of the productive forces and the structure of contradictions to be resolved corresponding to such development. The strategic path of the revolution identifies the general line to be applied in relation to implementing the concrete program, tasks, tactics and methods of struggle directed towards the scientific resolution of the structure of contradictions. This is a most serious question. Anyone with any responsibility for organising the revolution, anyone who wishes to be an honest revolutionary, anyone who claims to be a Marxist, must take up this question with a strict scientific attitude. They must learn the lessons which have been paid for by the blood of two generations of youth who have been compelled to sacrifice their lives twice in vain by being taken down the path of capitulation and betrayal- in 1971 and then again in 1989-92. In both instances, the same leadership consciously opposed Marxism-Leninism- Maoism and the path of the people's democratic revolution and protracted peoples war. Instead, they imposed the line, program and strategy of armed revisionism on the masses with the aim of immediately leaping to some perverted concept of socialism. Today, this leadership is preaching the peaceful road to ` socialism ` from the hallowed halls of the fascist parliament as the trusted partners of the neo-colonial state. This is a revolting legacy of capitulation and betrayal bequeathed by die- hard revisionist leaders grouped as the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna – Peoples Liberation Front (JVP). These bearded/ red-shirted capitalists, like their Trotskyite and Cotta Road cousins, still parade as Marxists and Socialists. They continue to deceive and betray the masses. So we must settle accounts with these imposters. More fundamentally, we must grasp and apply the scientific principles of the theory, line and program – the Strategic Path- of the Peoples Democratic Revolution and Protracted People's War. This way we must begin to prepare hearts and minds and organize forces to embark on that historic path based on a strategic plan. In order to do so, we shall bring out the scientific principles of People's Democratic Revolution and Protracted Peoples War. In so doing, we shall expose the reactionary, counter-revolutionary, revisionist class essence of these capitalist forces for all to see.

## **Protracted Peoples War As Opposed to Armed Revisionism.**

It was Mao-Tse-Tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and of the glorious Chinese Revolution who elaborated the theory, line and program of the New (People's) Democratic Revolution and the Strategic Path Of Protracted People's War. He did so in opposition to all types of red-shirted Trotskyite / Revisionist agents in the leadership of the CCP. This bourgeois leadership had led millions of workers to be massacred by the armed forces of the state by their insistence on waging a socialist revolution as opposed to waging the people's democratic revolution.. They had insisted on adopting the strategy of insurrection as opposed to protracted people's war. This is the very same path of revisionist capitulation and betrayal that the JVP followed in Sri Lanka. What is the difference between applying the path of socialist revolution and

insurrection and applying the path of the peoples democratic revolution and protracted peoples war in a country like China and, in our case, Sri Lanka? What are the principles for distinguishing the two paths? What are the implications of selecting one or the other? Let us try to approach these crucial questions as a way of solving the problems of theory and strategy of the Sri Lanka revolution. Let us sum up the teachings of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism and the historical experience of the world proletarian revolution in dealing with this question as a way of establishing a theoretical basis for our discussion.

### **Marx's Theory of Revolutionary Stages:**

The whole of the Marxist theory of history is concerned with stages. History is revealed as the successive stages through which human society passes where an old and obsolete mode of production is superceded by a new one corresponding to the development of new productive forces. The old social relations of production are rent asunder by the revolutionary class representing the new productive forces and society is reorganized and revolutionized on new foundations. No social order could be overthrown in a revolutionary way until the material and ideological conditions representing the new productive forces have matured where such revolutionary ruptures have become both necessary and possible. Marx himself has given expression to the guiding theme of Marxism in the most lucid manner in his celebrated Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. We shall quote a lengthy section from this Preface due to its particular relevance to our discussion:

"The general conclusion at which I arrived and which, once reached, became the guiding principle of my studies can be summarized as follows: In the social production of their existence, men enter into definite, necessary relations, which are independent of their will, namely, relations of production corresponding to a determinate stage of development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which there arises a legal and political superstructure and to which there correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life-process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determine their being, but on the contrary, it is their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or – what is merely a legal expression for the same thing – with the property relations within the framework of which they have hitherto operated. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. At that point an era of social revolution begins... A social order never perishes before all the productive forces for which it is broadly sufficient have been developed, and new superior relations of production never replace older ones before the material conditions for their existence have matured within the womb of old society..." ( PREFACE: Foreign Language Press 1979: p. 3-4) .

It should be clear that anyone with any respect for scientific truth and for Marxism should respect the need to analyse the stage of the revolution in terms of the level and form of development of the productive forces and the corresponding development of the class struggle and so determine the strategic path of the revolution.

### **Lenin's Theory of Two Stages of the Revolution:**

Based on applying the Marxist method, Lenin had insisted that Russia must first pass through the bourgeois democratic revolution to overthrow feudalism before proceeding to the socialist revolution. The need to pass through the bourgeois democratic revolution was being denied from two different positions emanating from two deviant trends, the Narodnik – Social Revolutionary trend and the Trotskyite- Menshevik trend. The former claimed that Russia could leap to the socialist stage immediately since the Russian feudal village already contained the seeds of

socialism. The latter trend argued that the proletariat had no interest in a bourgeois democratic revolution; that it could not build the worker-peasant alliance and lead the bourgeois democratic revolution, and so had to tail behind the bourgeoisie until conditions ripened for a socialist revolution. Either that, or force the socialist revolution by the force of terror. Both trends negated the role of the proletariat in waging and leading a bourgeois democratic revolution in the name of some idealized notion of socialism. In effect, both these trends negated Marxism and genuine socialism and stood opposed to both. As against these trends, this is how Lenin asserts the Bolshevik political line on this question:

" The degree of economic development in Russia ( an objective condition) and the degree of class consciousness and organization of the broad masses of the proletariat ( a subjective condition inseparably connected with the objective condition) make the immediate complete emancipation of the working class impossible. Only the most ignorant people can ignore the bourgeois nature of the democratic revolution which is now taking place: only the most naïve optimists can forget how little as yet the masses of the workers are informed about the aims of Socialism and of the methods of achieving them. And we are all convinced that the emancipation of the workers can be effected only by the workers themselves; a socialist revolution is out of the question unless the masses become class conscious and organized, trained and educated in open class struggle against the entire bourgeoisie. In answer to anarchist objections that we are putting off the socialist revolution, we say; we are not putting off the socialist revolution but we are taking the first step towards it in the only possible way, along the only correct road, namely, the road of a democratic republic." ( Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution: Foreign Language Press. Peking 1965. p. 16-17).

But, Lenin had argued that the capitalist class in Russia would not lead and complete its own revolution. This is because, in the era of imperialism, the monopoly capitalist class would never wage a radical democratic revolution for the fear that the workers and peasants would outstrip the capitalist leadership and wage their own revolution for state power. Besides, the monopoly capitalist class in Russia was tied by a thousand threads to feudalism and represented imperialism and would, in fact, oppose a radical democratic revolution. Lenin, with Stalin at his side, organised the Bolshevik party and the proletariat to take leadership of the bourgeois democratic revolution and upon completing it, to march uninterruptedly to the socialist revolution. Lenin stood for a bourgeois democratic revolution that would smash the feudal state by force and establish the dictatorship not of the bourgeoisie, but of the proletariat and the peasantry as the first step leading to the socialist revolution. This is how he formulates his position:

" We must not forget that there is not, nor can there be, at the present time, any other means of bringing socialism nearer than complete political liberty, than a democratic republic, than the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. As the representatives of the advanced and only revolutionary class, revolutionary without reservations, doubts or looking back, we present to the whole of the people, as widely, as boldly, and with the utmost initiative possible, the tasks of the democratic revolution. To degrade these tasks in theory means making a travesty of Marxism, distorting it in philistine fashion, while in practical politics in means delivering the cause of the revolution into the hands of the bourgeoisie..." (Ibid: p. 123)

The feudal ruling class symbolised by the Tsar was overthrown during the first inter-imperialist world war. This led to the establishment of dual power where both the capitalist class and the working class, in alliance with the peasantry and the oppressed masses had seized state power. The overthrow of the feudal ruling class brought the bourgeois democratic revolution to the stage of history only to be overtaken by the proletarian socialist revolution. The bourgeois state, in conjunction with an invasion by imperialist powers, organized the counter-revolution against the workers-peasants soviet state power. Lenin , along with Stalin, guided the Bolshevik party to mobilise the proletariat and the oppressed masses to confront the counter-revolution and

overthrow the bourgeois state by force. This insurrection brought the Great October Socialist Revolution to power which established the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviet socialist state. Following the seizure of state power in the major cities, three years of protracted people's war spread the revolution to the countryside. The revolution took root throughout the country by means of consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. This was done by mobilizing the poor and landless peasants, agricultural workers and rural semi-proletarians to wage the agrarian revolution to uproot feudalism and replace it with democratic-socialist production relations. Protracted peoples war laid the basis for consolidating the worker-peasant alliance on a revolutionary basis. It laid the ideological, political and organizational foundation for constructing and consolidating the Socialist state against such overwhelming odds.

Thus, events proved Lenin to be correct. Trotsky, who opposed Lenin bitterly and who later conspired to overthrow the Soviet state and Stalin's leadership in league with world imperialism, was consigned to the dust-bin of history as a renegade and revisionist. The bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia was led by the proletariat, as Lenin had planned and predicted. Here we can see that the seizure of state power by the proletariat in Russia was carried out and consolidated on the basis of relying on and mobilizing the masses, particularly the peasantry, in waging revolutionary war to defeat and uproot feudalism and imperialism. Although initially it took the form of an urban insurrection, this was based on building the worker-peasant alliance and carrying out the agrarian revolution in the form of protracted peoples war. The Russian insurrection was not conceived as a seizure of state power by a vanguard elite substituting for the role of the masses. It laid the basis and opened up immense opportunities for relying on mobilising the masses to carry out agrarian revolution in the countryside and complete the democratic revolution. The first world war intensified class and national contradictions to the level where the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution were telescoped into an accelerated process. Lenin, along with Stalin provided the leadership where the proletariat would combine the revolutionary war of the masses against the twin enemies of the revolution- imperialism and feudalism. This way they led the party, the proletariat and the masses to complete the bourgeois democratic revolution and pass over to the socialist revolution and begin socialist construction without interruption.

### **Two Stages of the Chinese Revolution:**

Conditions were the same in China, except that China was dominated by imperialism externally as well as by feudalism, whereas Russia had been a feudal-imperialist power. China was a combination of several modes of production. Some areas of China were under direct feudal domination while some areas it was under semi-feudal domination where capitalism had begun to develop and determine the mode of production intertwined with feudalism. In some areas, China was under direct colonial domination while in others it was under indirect semi-colonial domination. In essence, China was a country dominated by feudalism and imperialism where imperialism was the principal form of domination. In China, the comprador-bureaucratic capitalist class was tied to imperialism and feudalism. It had no interest in waging a radical democratic revolution. In fact, the old bourgeois democratic revolution had been partially accomplished under Sun Yat Sen's leadership in 1911. Chiang Kai Chek, who took power after him turned into an enemy of the people and the democratic revolution. So, there was no choice but for the proletariat and its vanguard communist party to take the leadership of the democratic revolution.

Like Lenin, Mao argued that the social relations of private property and class society cannot be eradicated by armed terror nor by parliamentary reforms. They can only be eradicated by the conscious revolutionary struggle of the masses led by the proletariat and its vanguard communist party, as part of advancing the world proletarian socialist revolution. Each revolution in every country must confront and resolve the historically determined contradictions step by step as part of advancing the world revolution. The main obstacles to the further development of the productive forces in China was imperialism, reinforced by feudalism. Therefore China has to undergo a ( new ) peoples democratic revolution to overthrow imperialism and feudalism and establish a peoples democratic state, economy and society. This is achieved by waging protracted peoples war under leadership of the proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry, in unity with all oppressed classes, nations and people, where imperialism is the main enemy and the agrarian revolution forms the core.

### **The Path of Peoples Democratic Revolution and Protracted Peoples War.**

Mao insisted that the revolution in countries dominated by feudalism and imperialism, like China ( and Sri Lanka) had to first undergo a people's democratic revolution in order to pave the way for the socialist revolution. He showed that the peoples democratic revolution must follow the path of protracted peoples war if feudalism and imperialism is to be overthrown decisively. He insisted that the path of protracted peoples war is the only path for relying on and mobilizing the masses to seize and exercise political power so they may establish their proletarian class dictatorship and construct and rule over their own state and society. This is the only way that the oppressed masses, led by the proletariat and its party, could grasp scientific philosophy and the revolutionary line, break their chains and raise their political consciousness, mobilize their infinite creative potential, and along with the rest of humankind, advance to Communism, through the path of the world proletarian socialist revolution. The peoples democratic revolution in countries dominated by imperialism and the socialist revolution in the imperialist countries constitute the two currents of the world proletarian socialist revolution. This is the basis for building the unity of the international proletariat and the oppressed people of the world in the common revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

Let us see go on to see how Mao inherited and developed Marxism-Leninism in formulating the path of the peoples democratic revolution and protracted peoples war. Based on Marxism-Leninism, Mao argued that first the Chinese people must liberate themselves from feudalism and imperialism by means of waging the bourgeois democratic revolution before proceeding to socialism. Mao raises and answers the question of the stage of the revolution:

" What, indeed, is the character of the of the Chinese revolution at the present stage? Is it a bourgeois-democratic or proletarian- socialist revolution? Obviously it is not the latter but the former. Since Chinese society is colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal, since the principal enemies of the Chinese revolution are imperialism and feudalism, since the tasks of the revolution are to overthrow these two enemies by means of a national and democratic revolution in which the bourgeois sometimes takes part and since the edge of the revolution is directed against imperialism and feudalism and not against capitalism and capitalist private property in general even if the big bourgeoisie betrays the revolution and becomes its enemy- since all this is true, the character of the Chinese revolution at the present stage is not proletarian socialist but bourgeois democratic " (Selected Works of Mao Tse Tung: The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Revolution. Foreign Language Press: p. 326-7 )

As Lenin did in Russia, Mao too was fundamentally opposed to the Trotskyites who insisted on a socialist revolution. This is what Mao has to say about such political leadership.

" The theory of a single revolution is simply a theory of no revolution at all, and that is the heart of the matter... It is correct and in accord with the Marxist theory of revolutionary development to say of the two revolutionary stages that the first provides the conditions for the second and that the two must be consecutive, without allowing any intervening stage of bourgeois dictatorship. However, it is a utopian view rejected by true revolutionaries to say that the democratic revolution does not have a specific task and period of its own but can be merged and accomplished simultaneously with another task, i.e., the socialist task ( which can only be carried out in another period)..." ( Mao: On New Democracy: Foreign Language Press: Peking 19657. p.30-31.)

Like Lenin, Mao also argued that in the present era the bourgeois democratic revolution could only be completed under the leadership of the proletariat since under imperialism, the bourgeoisie would never do so for the fear of the proletarian revolution. Mao called for a ( new ) peoples democratic revolution led by the proletariat aimed at establishing the peoples democratic state as a way of clearing the path to waging the socialist revolution, The ( new) peoples democratic revolution was the only way of building the organized strength and conscious capacity of the masses in order to take on the task to first collectivize and systematically eradicate all private property under Socialism. This is how Mao formulates the proletarian line on this question:

"However, in present-day China the bourgeois democratic revolution is no longer of the old general type, which is now obsolete, but one of a new special type. We call this type the new democratic revolution and it is developing in all other colonial and semi-colonial countries as well as in China. The new democratic revolution is part of the world proletarian socialist revolution, for it resolutely opposes imperialism, i.e., international capitalism. Politically, it strives for the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes over the imperialists, traitors and reactionaries... The present stage of the Chinese revolution is a stage of transition between the abolition of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and the establishment of a socialist society, i.e., it is a process of new democratic revolution. (Selected Works of Mao Tse Tung: The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Revolution. Foreign Language Press: p. 326-7 )

Basing himself firmly on the scientific principles and method of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse Tung led ¼ of suffering humanity living in the vast territory of China to defeat their oppressors systematically by seizing and exercising their own state power under the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard communist party. He led the masses in defeating and overthrowing feudalism and imperialism and in establishing the peoples democratic state. Under the leadership of the CCP, the Chinese masses defeated Japanese Fascist aggression and then overthrew the pro-American feudal-comprador- bureaucratic regime of Chiang Kai Chek . This took some thirty years of revolutionary war. Following that, he led the party and the masses in waging the socialist revolution. Mao solved new problems of the socialist revolution in the form of the new bourgeois – revisionist class and its counter-revolutionary program of capitalist restoration. In doing so he developed the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution to a new stage in the form of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) and raised Marxism-Leninism to the new stage of Marxism-Leninism Maoism.

### **Capitalist Restoration & Cultural Revolution**

The revisionist bourgeoisie has succeeded in overthrowing socialism in the Soviet Union and China. This has been possible due to the fact socialism is still in its infancy and had been established in individual countries which had to survive under imperialist encirclement. It had been established also in relatively backward countries. Under these conditions the roots of private property and class society could not be eradicated completely. The domain of commodity

production, the law of value and profit, the corresponding class divisions and relations as well as their ideological reflections continued to exercise its dominance even though all this had been subjected to revolutionary transformation. These contradictions inherited from capitalism could not be overcome by orders from above. This requires continuing the revolution without interruption in the context of advancing the final victory of the world proletarian socialist revolution. A brief catalogue of the major contradictions confronting socialist revolution will help us to grasp the tortuous path of the socialist revolution and the basis for capitalist restoration.

The contradiction between individual socialist states and world imperialism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the vanguard party and the proletariat, between the party and the masses, between the state and the people, between industry and agriculture, between workers and peasants, between town and countryside, between manual and intellectual labor, between man and woman, between ignorance and knowledge, the division of labor in general – this whole structure of material and ideological contradictions and relations inherited from capitalism cannot be finally resolved in the context of waging revolution in any individual country. Ultimately, they can only be resolved on the basis of the universal negation of private property and class society on a world scale through the final destruction of imperialism and the achievement of communism. The persistence of these contradictions constitute the material and ideological basis for the growth of a new capitalist class and for capitalist restoration.

Proletarian state power in the Soviet Union had been seized by the revisionists in 1956, after the death of Stalin. Capitalism had been restored in the world's first socialist state and transformed into a full scale social imperialist super-power in command of a worldwide empire of blood and profit by the modern revisionists. Mao led the international communist movement in exposing modern revisionism in the context of defending Marxism-Leninism. In China too, the new bourgeoisie which had grown under the conditions and contradictions of Socialism had established their headquarters in the top leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and were plotting to overthrow Mao and the proletarian dictatorship from power. In the Soviet Union and in China, this class had its leadership within the top leading positions of the party itself and had extended their power throughout the state and society. They had set up their own counter-revolutionary revisionist headquarters to overthrow proletarian state power and establish a bourgeois-fascist dictatorship, in league with world imperialism.

### **The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Leap to Marxism-Leninism- Maoism**

Lenin had analysed the growth of the bourgeoisie under socialism. But it was Mao who analysed the new contradictions and social relations under socialism in a systematic way and developed the line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the GPCR. Under this revolution, the masses were mobilized by the party to identify, expose, defeat and overthrow the new capitalist class that had grown from the soil of Socialism itself. The GPCR opened new vistas for the proletarian revolution and blazed the path to communism as never before. The GPCR was waged at a time when both the Soviet Social imperialist bloc and the Western imperialist bloc were both seeking to destroy the Chinese socialist state from outside. The capitalists within the party had links to both blocs and were actively planning to overthrow the proletarian state.



Mao had implicit faith in the workers and the Chinese oppressed masses and called on them to wage the GPCR which prevented capitalist restoration for over a decade. Never before in history had the masses, led by the proletariat and its communist party, seized and exercised political power on such a scale and depth. This unprecedented conscious mass revolution was aimed at defeating the capitalist counter-revolution and defending proletarian state power by deepening the revolution aimed at eradicating the roots of private property and class society. It also called for combating the self and overthrowing the bourgeoisie both within and without. The GPCR sowed the seeds of Communism and brought forth the new Communist human being on a truly mass scale in a way that had never been approached before. More than ever before the GPCR shed the light of scientific clarity and cleared the path of the communist revolution. It brought out the law formulated by Mao that "either we shall all achieve communism or no one shall". It confirmed the law that no one can be free until we are all free. It brought out the principle of proletarian internationalism as an objective law which defines that the individual revolution in individual countries must be subordinated to, and always serve the world revolution. The GPCR also proved that capitalism and imperialism can be finally overthrown and private property could be completely eradicated. It showed concretely that Communism was not only necessary but possible, but that this would require that from the very beginning the party in every single country, without exception, be organized as a vanguard detachment of the international proletariat and the revolution be organized scientifically as a subordinate component of the world revolution.

Mao was able to solve the problems of the Chinese revolution and raise the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution to a new stage because he consistently applied and developed the philosophy of dialectical materialism and the theory and ideology of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the Chinese revolution in the context of serving the world revolution. The theory of the people's democratic revolution and the path of protracted peoples war is a product of such creative application. This line and strategy laid the basis for scaling the new heights of the GPCR. The path of protracted peoples war concentrates the philosophical, ideological, theoretical, practical, organizational and strategic principles of Marxism-Leninism on the question of the revolutionary armed seizure and exercise of political power by the masses. Protracted peoples war was formulated by Mao as the path of building the material and ideological foundations, the way of mobilizing and training the masses politically, ideologically and organisationally in establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, constructing socialism marching towards the final achievement of communism worldwide. The GPCR and the development of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism would not have been conceivable if not for the experience in waging the peoples democratic revolution and protracted peoples war. Below we shall summarise the basic principles which underlie the theory, line and strategy- the Path – of the People's Democratic Revolution in its application to Sri Lanka. We shall then proceed to do the same with regard to protracted peoples war as formulated by Mao in order to stimulate study and discussion on the problems of theory and strategy of the Sri Lanka revolution.

### **Basic Principles of Peoples Democratic Revolution & Protracted People's War. :**

The people's democratic revolution is aimed at liberating the country from imperialism and liberating the people from semi-feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capitalism. Concretely, its aim is the overthrow of the neo-colonial state and its replacement by a peoples democratic state representing the dictatorship of the proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry and in unity will all

anti-imperialist/ anti-feudal classes and nations and people. Its objective is to overthrow and uproot the material and ideological roots of imperialism, neo-colonialism and semi-feudalism and pave the way for advancing uninterruptedly to the socialist revolution. As such, it is constituted by the unity of the national democratic revolution and the agrarian revolution.

The PDR is led by the proletariat in the form of the Maoist communist party. The peoples democratic revolution is led by the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry, in unity with all anti-imperialist / anti-feudal classes. The proletariat forms the leading force and peasantry ( particularly the poor and landless peasants and rural semi-proletarians) forms the basic (driving) force of the PDR. The worker-peasant alliance forms the foundation for building the class alliance of the PDR and for carrying out its line and program. The agrarian revolution, relying on the poor peasants in unity with rural proletarians and semi-proletarians, forms the core of the PDR. It is the main basis for building the party, the peoples army and the united front. Through waging the agrarian revolution the poor peasants shall be mobilized to wage revolutionary war against the neo-colonial state in order to seize and exercise people's political power ( dictatorship) in expanding waves through liberated base areas until the country-wide seizure of power. People's political power shall be seized and exercised by the masses with the aim of driving out all foreign corporations, their comprador- bureaucratic agents and big landlords and taking over and redistributing their land and assets among themselves on a cooperative basis. This will lay the basis for a peoples democratic economy based on the principles of strategic self-sufficiency and self-reliance. The revolutionary war will mobilize the masses to eradicate all semi-feudal/ neo-colonial social relations and replace them with the social relations corresponding to peoples democracy. These revolutionary transformations will lay the basis for a ( new) peoples democratic political, economic, social, cultural and ideological order from which to leap to the socialist revolution in the context of advancing the world revolution.

Mao has stated that the seizure of power by armed force is the central task and the highest form of revolution. He has also stated that without political power all is illusion and that without a people's army the people have nothing. Accordingly, the communist party must prepare for waging revolutionary war right from the beginning.

All other activities must be subordinated to and serve this central task. The people's army should be the main form of mass organization and all other mass organizations must be subordinated to and serve the people's army from the very beginning. The three main instruments for waging the peoples democratic revolution and protracted peoples war are: the communist party, the peoples army and the revolutionary united front. The party must always lead the army and the united front; proletarian politics must always rule the gun. All three instruments must serve the people and the revolution.

Protracted people's war is a revolutionary war of the masses. It can only be waged by relying on and mobilizing the conscious initiative of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat and its communist party. People's war must be waged in such a way as to give the fullest expression of the role of the masses in liberating themselves through seizure and exercise of political power. It must be the highest form of organizing and training the masses, ideologically and politically to wage proletarian revolution and exercise dictatorship over the state and society aimed at destroying imperialism, uprooting private property and achieving communism in the context of advancing the world revolution. Protracted peoples war combines revolutionary struggle in the

countryside and the cities, with the countryside as principal. It proceeds by establishing liberated base areas and establishing peoples democratic state power in the rural areas with the aim of encircling the cities and seizing nationwide state power.

Protracted peoples war proceeds through three integrated stages; The strategic defensive, the strategic equilibrium and the strategic offensive. By carrying out the PDR and developing revolutionary war through these stages, the party, peoples army and the united front is developed progressively. Revolutionary war is developed progressively from guerilla war to mobile and finally positional war with guerilla war complementing mobile and positional war. The peoples army is correspondingly developed from the stage of the peoples guerilla army to the stage of a regular peoples army, complemented by peoples militias. Through this process of dialectical development, operational zones are developed into guerillas zones leading to the establishment of liberated base areas in a series of waves.

### **The Application of Protracted Peoples War in The World:**

Following the restoration of capitalism in China, the world revolution suffered a serious, though temporary, set back. Imperialism and reaction announced the death of Communism and claimed that their system of slavery would last forever. All types of revisionists and opportunists joined in the bandwagon and proclaimed the virtues of the open market economy and the imperialist system. Even honest forces gave up revolution with the belief that imperialism and neo-colonialism could not be overthrown.

### **Revolutionary Internationalist Movement:**

In the face of this set back, genuine Maoist forces came together to form the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) in 1984 with the aim of defending developing Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the world revolution. Since then the RIM has advanced to become the leading center of the international communist movement and is in the process of building the basis for establishing the new Fourth International. The Communist Party of Peru ( Maoist) initiated protracted peoples war in 1980. It continues on that path in spite of the arrest of its chairman Com. Gonzalo in 1991 and against genocidal repression by the neo-colonial fascist state. The PCP (M) is a founding member of the RIM. The thunder of peoples war from the peaks of the Andes in Peru lit up the sky where its brilliance began to radiate ever more brightly from the mighty Himalayas. The Communist Party of Nepal -Maoist (CPNM), also a founding member of the RIM, had lead peoples war in Nepal and mobilized the peasants and oppressed masses in their millions throughout the countryside to seize and exercise political power. It is serving to strengthen and spread protracted peoples war throughout South India as expressed in the formation of the Coordinating Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia (CoCOMPOSA). Protracted peoples war is also being waged in India by the Maoist Communist Center and the Communist Party of India-Marxist- Leninist ( Peoples War), while other parties are making active preparations for initiating the same in the region. Protracted peoples war is also being waged in the Philippines and Turkey, while all participating parties and organizations of the RIM are also making active preparations to initiate revolutionary war in accordance with the concrete conditions in their respective countries. The Ceylon Communist Party-Maoist (CCPM) shares the honor of being a founding member of the RIM and is exerting all efforts to unite its forces in order to initiate peoples war. Thus it is clear that the shining path of peoples war is spreading and building momentum. It will surge forward as a new wave of the world revolution

and serve to accelerate the conditions for peoples war in the imperialist citadels which will lay the basis for yet another great leap in the development of the world revolution and the march to Communism.

History does not evolve according to the reactionary pipe dreams. The line of denying the stage of the peoples ( new) democratic revolution in a country dominated by imperialism and feudalism is reactionary and counter-revolutionary. This line has nothing to do with Marxism or Socialism. This line, in essence, denies the role of the masses in liberating themselves. It negates the unity of the international proletariat and the oppressed people of the world. The JVP' brand of socialism and insurrectionism has nothing to do with scientific socialism or Marxism-Leninism. Their brand of socialism is a cover for using the masses as bargaining chips in the game to share political power in the neo-colonial state as junior partners of imperialism- just like their revisionist cousins, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party ( LSSP) and the Cotta Road Communist Party. The JVP twice rejected the path of the peoples democratic revolution and protracted people's war. They turned to the insurrection of the intelligentsia as a short-cut to power and ended up turning its terror on the masses. In doing so this bourgeois line and leadership sacrificed two generations of revolutionary youth and led its leadership to capitulating to the state and betraying the revolution . These lessons have been paid by the blood of the people. Conducting serious and focused study on the path of the peoples democratic revolution and protracted peoples war and applying these principles creatively to the concrete conditions in our country is an essential condition for solving the problems of theory and strategy of the Sri Lanka revolution. All genuine revolutionaries should take up this task as a matter of priority and with the seriousness it deserves.

### **Problems of Theory & Strategy in Applying the Line of People's Democratic Revolution and Protracted People's War in Sri Lanka.**

The central task of carrying out the people's democratic revolution by applying the line of protracted peoples war aimed at the establishment of the people's democratic state in Sri Lanka confronts many serious problems and difficulties. If we do not focus on these problems and difficulties and resolve them by applying the method of materialist dialectics, we shall become demoralized. We shall only emphasize these problems and difficulties and neglect the real opportunities for preparing for, initiating, waging and winning protracted peoples war. This will result in all forms of deviations where we would try to avoid these problems and difficulties and take some short-cut, easy, but fundamentally illusory and disastrous way out, which will surely lead to capitulation and betrayal. More fundamentally, if we are serious about applying the line of protracted people's war, then we have to confront these problems and difficulties and develop our own military line and doctrine in the context of our own specific conditions. We have already dealt with questions of the stage of the revolution and the general principles of the peoples democratic revolution and protracted peoples war, which along with a critique of the line of armed revisionism in our country. Here we shall focus on the specific problems of theory and strategy arising from the application of the line of people's war to the concrete conditions of the Sri Lanka revolution.

### **The Principal Task: Developing a Strategic Plan Based on a Military Line.**

The conviction that runs through this article is that protracted peoples war is not only necessary but possible in Sri Lanka and that the objective conditions continue to intensify and mature for its active preparation, initiation and its final victory. But of course, the path, as Mao said, will be tortuous, but bright. What is needed is to apply Marxism-Leninism- Maoism and exert focused,

disciplined, intellectual energy to grasp the laws of motion of the contradictions that account for the development of the objective revolutionary process in Sri Lanka, as part of the world proletarian revolutionary process. On this basis, we have to take account of the specific geographic and strategic terrain, the level and form of social development, the specific features of the class struggle, the current world situation and regional configuration and the major contradictions that are unfolding concretely, in order to develop our own military line and doctrine. Only when we are armed with such a line and doctrine that we can seriously begin preparations for initiating and sustaining protracted peoples war.

### **Need for a Systematic Orientation:**

We should develop a systematic orientation with regard to ordering the questions that need to be raised and resolved. Otherwise we may feel overwhelmed by the complexity of the task. We will overestimate the enemy and underestimate ourselves. Our orientation here should be to resolve the following questions: How do we initiate and lead protracted people's war through its distinct stages based on carrying out the program of the people's democratic revolution with the agrarian revolution as its core and the worker-peasant alliance as its main axis? How do we accomplish these tasks under the principle that the masses must liberate themselves by building their own conscious organized unity, strength, discipline and fighting capacity through their own self-reliant revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard communist party? How do we apply this principle as the way of building a genuine vanguard revolutionary communist party and a people's army and the united front under its command? How do we ensure that the protracted people's war is aimed at the armed seizure and exercise of political power by the masses in the form of establishing liberated base areas leading to the establishment of the people's democratic state countrywide? How is this seizure and exercise of state power realized in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry and in unity with all the anti-imperialist / anti-feudal classes, nations and people? How do we establish the political, economic, social and ideological foundations through this process for advancing uninterruptedly to the socialist revolution in the context of advancing the world revolution?

We have to solve all these integrated problems of principle in the concrete conditions of the Sri Lanka revolution in order to begin to develop a strategic military line and program. Once we begin to solve these problems in a systematic and scientific way we can begin to develop a general line and a strategic plan for initiating protracted people's war. Only then can we begin to identify the real problems and difficulties that lie in applying the line of protracted peoples war and see how we can turn these problems and difficulties into great opportunities. Then we will begin to grasp the dialectic of how each of these major obstacles and limitations can be overcome systematically by relying on mobilising the masses to seize and exercise political power through waging protracted people's war. This concentrates what Mao said that " without political power all is illusion". This is a reflection of an objective law of proletarian revolution.

### **Building On Firm Foundations:**

Developing and applying a Military Line which concentrates the above principles within a Strategic Plan will not be easy. At present we are organizationally very weak, isolated from the masses and divorced from mass revolutionary practice. We have languished in the gloom of theoretical darkness and political slavery for a very long time. We do not even have a group of experienced advanced cadre that can give leadership and guidance to this task. However, we

must start from somewhere. That is our internationalist duty and responsibility. Yet, we are not starting from nowhere. We have the science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism and Mao's teachings on protracted peoples war to guide us. We have the guidance of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement ( RIM ). We have the glorious experience of protracted peoples war in Peru and Nepal led by two advanced contingents of the RIM. We have our own negative experience in the form of two armed revisionist insurgencies and the positive experience of the protracted war of national liberation led by the LTTE. Also, as a party group, we have struggled long and hard to stay on the revolutionary path and build our party based on a correct revolutionary line. This has been possible due to the firm proletarian ideological and theoretical foundations bequeathed to us by our late leader Com. Shan and our own commitment to upholding Proletarian Revolution, Marxism-Leninism- Maoism and Communism. In this process of struggle, including two-line struggle, we have trained ourselves to some degree in applying materialist dialectics to understanding and solving fairly complex contradictions and problems. We have a better, firmer and more scientific grasp of the path of protracted people's war and we have placed preparations for it at the center of our life and activity. This itself is an important victory since being centered on the task of preparations gives a framework for identifying, evaluating and summing up our line and practice and for achieving a conscious rupture with the past. Therefore, we have a firm foundation of theoretical and practical experience and a correct political orientation as a starting point.

### **Arguments for Liquidation and Capitulation:**

The main argument raised against applying the path of protracted people's war in Sri Lanka is that we are a small island ruled by a modern sophisticated centralized state with tremendous repressive capacity which has already decimated over a hundred thousand youth in suppressing armed rebellion. Added to this argument is that parliamentary democracy has taken root in the country and that the masses have been effectively pacified. Finally, the argument goes that any revolutionary war will bring in the direct and active intervention of the Indian expansionist state in conjunction with world imperialism which will certainly drown the revolution in a river of blood. This line of reasoning ends up either in giving up on revolution or in insisting that the Sri Lanka revolution can only be an end part of a general South Asian revolution and, additionally, that we would need to match the repressive power of the state with equally modern weapons. Behind this line of reasoning is a lack of faith in the masses, in the proletarian revolution, socialism and communism. This lack of faith is reinforced by capitalist restoration in the former Soviet Union and in China. It is reinforced also by a feeling of being overwhelmed by the hi-tech technology of mass destruction possessed by the imperialist and regional powers combined with the propaganda of globalisation. It is our intention to demonstrate that protracted people's war is the only scientific path towards genuine liberation and that it is not only necessary, but indeed, possible, and that objective conditions are intensifying and maturing for initiating it. What is lacking is the subjective element in the form of a core of professional revolutionaries organized as a nucleus of a vanguard revolutionary communist party in command of a scientific revolutionary line based on Marxism-Leninism- Maoism. We have infinite confidence that such a nucleus can be formed and believe that we have already begun the process of doing so. Let us establish the historical and theoretical basis for applying the line of protracted people's war in our country. We have to first establish the historical necessity and theoretical basis for protracted peoples war before we can discuss its possibility.

### **The Historical Stages of Revolutionary Development:**

We have shown that according to the Marxist theory of historical development, society advances through stages where, under definite conditions, new and rising classes representing new productive forces wage violent revolution to forcibly overthrow the prevailing class dictatorship in order to rupture with obsolete production relations of the old order and establish their own class dictatorship corresponding to a new and higher form of social organization. This is an objective law of historical development. Accordingly, modern history is characterized by the overthrow of the feudal state and social order and its replacement by the capitalist state and social order paving the way for the socialist revolution and the communist world order. This process has been going on for over six centuries. The capitalist countries that ruptured with feudalism have been transformed into advanced capitalist – that is- imperialist states.

### **Imperialism as the Eve of the Proletarian Revolution:**

Imperialism has brought about an era of universal devastation, degradation and misery. It has already unleashed two inter-imperialist world wars. Through this process imperialism has set the stage for the development of world proletarian socialist revolution. This has been proven by the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Great proletarian Cultural Revolution, and by the protracted people's wars being waged at present in Nepal, Peru, India, Philippines and Turkey. The restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union and China show only that the goal of communism cannot be won on the basis of the revolutionary struggle in individual countries, but that it would require a qualitative leap in the world revolution, along with socialist revolutions in the advanced imperialist countries themselves. The revolutionary struggles of the people of the world are bound to intensify and develop into a new wave of world revolution in the context of the new spiral of global crisis of imperialism that has now begun with the so-called " Global War Against International Terrorism" initiated by US imperialism in league with the rest of the imperialist powers and their neo-colonial states. For our part, we must focus and intensify our own preparations for initiating and waging protracted people's war as our highest internationalist duty and responsibility. The time is indeed ripe. So let us dig deep into our history and discover the laws governing the development of the proletarian revolution in our country. Then we can apply the invincible science of our class and charter our own path of revolution.

### **The Process of Historical Development in Sri Lanka.**

Sri Lanka has never undergone a social revolution where the old feudal order had been violently overthrown by a new and rising capitalist class. In Sri Lanka, what we have is a perpetuation of feudal-colonial social relations in a new form. The old feudal-colonial state and social order has been replaced by a semi-feudal / neo-colonial state and social order established and reinforced by world imperialism. Let us trace this development.

Sri Lanka had been colonized for nearly five centuries where the independent internal process of historical development had been displaced by an externally imposed process of colonial development. The colonial powers not only prevented the development of an internally-driven process of capitalist development, they aborted any possibility of a bourgeois democratic, that is, capitalist revolution. Instead they formed alliances with feudal rulers and reinforced feudalism under the domination of colonial capital and a colonial ruling class.

This led to the development of a native capitalist class which had its origin, growth and development determined by and dependent on colonialism. This native capitalist class had no interest in waging a bourgeois democratic revolution. Instead, their interest lied in perpetuating the feudal-colonial state so they may continue to share in the spoils of colonial plunder. The British Imperialist state transferred formal political power to this class of comprador-bureaucratic capitalists in 1948. Consequently, Sri Lanka was transformed into a semi-feudal / neo-colonial country ruled by a comprador-bureaucratic capitalist ruling class who has since served world imperialism in suppressing the masses and in opening the door to increasing exploitation and plunder. Through this process, the bourgeois democratic revolution in our country was effectively aborted and the country has been reduced to a beggar neo-colony of world imperialism.

Therefore, the independent, internally driven process of historical development where feudalism would have been violently overthrown and uprooted by the capitalist class and where capitalism would have developed freely had been violently suppressed in favor of a process of development where feudalism continues to prevail and rot within a structure of neo-colonial domination. This has resulted in the development of a semi-feudal / neo-colonial state under the fascist dictatorship of a parasitic and blood-drenched comprador-bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class which has rained universal devastation, degradation, misery and violent subjugation of the oppressed nations and people of Sri Lanka. This reality is the political expression of a determinate economic base. These politics reflect the fact that the internal productive forces in our country have long been retarded and suffocated by the system of production relations imposed by world imperialism and enforced through the neo-colonial state.

### **The Logic of Imperialist Domination Neo-Colonial Suppression and Semi-Feudal Oppression:**

Sri Lanka is a predominantly agricultural country. Over 70% of the population gain their livelihood from agriculture related activities and about the same percentage live in the rural areas. We once had a self-reliant, self-sufficient agricultural economy that produced an economic surplus which sustained feudal kingdoms in unmatched splendor and where we could export our grain and paddy. This agrarian economy has been severely retarded and suffocated by the externally-imposed, imperialist- dominated development process. The poor and middle peasants, representing the vast majority of the country and the basic productive force in the economy have been systematically impoverished and ruined. Landlessness and indebtedness is the rising trend and the future they face. Why is this so? Under capitalism they would have been determined by a logic of increasing capital accumulation and expanded reproduction. In other words, at each cultivation cycle they would derive an economic surplus which they would have re-invested where they would increasingly employ modern technology and more labor power and expand into becoming rich peasants. Their scale of production and level of technical and production efficiencies would have developed in relation to global standards of capitalist competition. This is the logic of capitalist development.

This is the logic of agricultural development in the advanced capitalist countries, like the US, Britain, France, Germany, Canada, Russia, Japan and Italy and even in countries such as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium and so on. But in all the countries dominated by imperialism, that is, the majority of the countries in the world, agriculture remains the most backward sector where the peasants are ruined daily. In these countries, as in Sri Lanka, the



peasants are ruined because they have no access to land, agricultural implements and inputs and markets. In the present context, they do not even have a self-reliant, self-sufficient economic base to even sustain themselves at a basic level of subsistence, let alone produce an economic surplus. They do not have the benefits of the old feudal economy nor the growth potential of capitalism. Left to rot and ruin, frozen in time and space between two modes of production, the peasants, the basic productive force, lives in perpetual poverty and indebtedness. The same is true of all other productive activities, without exception, whether in industry or manufacture. The entire economies in these countries have been subjected to the logic of imperialist capital accumulation and expansion. This can only mean that the productive forces in these countries are bled by imperialist capital to feed its need for maintaining and expanding rival empires of profit. The economies and the productive forces in these neo-colonial countries are dominated by international finance capital and subjugated to its needs and compulsions. The function of international financial agencies such as the World Bank, The IMF, the ADB etc are to impose the conditions for this purpose. As a condition of this logic, these countries are prevented from becoming independent and self-reliant and developing their own form of capitalist development. They are deliberately maintained in the most backward and dependent condition as the semi-feudal / neo-colonial reserves of imperialism. The logic of imperialist domination denies and suppresses the bourgeois democratic revolution in the neo-colonies. Economically, It denies and suppresses the internal development of capitalism. Politically it denies national independence and democracy for the people. Historically, it maintains these colonies in a perpetual state of backwardness and dependence as semi-feudal / neo-colonial reserves of imperialism. Such is the reality of imperialist domination, neo-colonial suppression and semi-feudal oppression. There can be no way out of this logic of domination and slavery other than by waging the most radical bourgeois democratic revolution that can overthrow and systematically uproot the entire structure of semi-feudal / neo-colonial production relations in order to achieve national independence and people's democracy. This is the only way to unleash the productive forces and advance society to a new and higher stage.

### **Historical Features of the New ( People's ) Democratic Revolution in Sri Lanka:**

Unlike the old bourgeois democratic revolution which was led by the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois democratic revolution in Sri Lanka has to be led by the proletariat in the form of its vanguard communist party in the context of serving and advancing the world proletarian socialist revolution. This is because, as Mao explained, under imperialism, the bourgeois democratic revolution in the oppressed countries can no longer be led by the bourgeoisie. The capitalist class in these countries are tied to and dependent on imperialism. The national bourgeoisie is too weak and flabby to carry out any revolution. The comprador-bureaucrat capitalist class are agents of imperialism. They need imperialism and also semi-feudalism in order to exploit the masses economically and suppress the masses politically. This class has to forge alliances with imperialism and perpetuate feudal social relations in distorted forms in order to suppress the masses and maintain their class dictatorship. This class can never carry out a radical democratic revolution for the fear that the masses will sweep them away in such a revolution. This class can never carry out a radical agrarian revolution to eradicate feudalism since they have to rely on the political strategy of peaceful and piecemeal land reform in order to pacify the peasantry and keep them chained to their system. This process reinforces, as opposed to eradicating, semi-feudalism. Furthermore, they need the alliance with the feudal lords as represented today by the

corrupt high priests of the Maha Sangha to spread the ideology and politics of chauvinism and mysticism in order to deceive, divide, suppress and pacify the masses. So, there is a happy marriage between imperialism, neo-colonialism and semi-feudalism. There is a political alliance between the imperialist states, the comprador-bureaucrat ruling class and the feudalists. ( see the article: " Analysis of Classes in Sri Lanka " for a fuller discussion on the historical character and role of these classes ).

Therefore, what is needed in Sri Lanka is a social revolution that would forcibly overthrow both semi-feudal and neo-colonial social relations of production in order that capitalist productive forces would grow freely. This can only mean destroying the semi-feudal / neo-colonial state by forcibly overthrowing its ruling class and dictatorship. This can only be achieved through the revolutionary war of the masses, i.e., protracted people's war. Only the conscious, organized revolutionary struggle of the masses in seizing and exercising political power , led by the proletariat, can overthrow imperialist domination, neo-colonial suppression and semi-feudal oppression decisively. Only the revolutionary struggle of the masses in liberating themselves through transforming the world and themselves can systematically eradicate the sum total of the political, economic, social and ideological conditions and relations of imperialist domination and exploitation, neo-colonial suppression and semi-feudal oppression and lay the foundation for advancing to the socialist revolution. That is to say, what Sri Lanka needs is a bourgeois democratic revolution of a new type as determined by the objective laws of historical development. It is only by completing the bourgeois democratic revolution in the form of the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war that we can proceed to the socialist revolution. As we have shown, this is the theory and path of the New ( People's ) Democratic Revolution as formulated and demonstrated by Mao in the course of the Chinese revolution.

## **The Potential for Waging Protracted People's War in Sri Lanka:**

### **The Masses Need Revolution:**

The possibility of waging protracted peoples war in any country lies in relying on mobilizing the infinite revolutionary energy and creativity of the masses in liberating themselves from the conditions of their slavery. As Mao has pointed out, where there is oppression, there is resistance. The whole of the historical experience of the world proletarian socialist revolution has demonstrated the infinite capacity of the masses to wage conscious revolution to seize control over their state, society and their destiny in the historical march to communism. In our own country, the masses have fought their colonial oppressors for centuries. The war of national liberation of the Tamil people led by the LTTE has proven that even under non-proletarian leadership, the masses will resist oppression heroically and make great sacrifices once they become aware of their own interests. The LTTE has waged protracted war against the Sri Lankan state now for nearly twenty years, even though the masses have not been mobilized as the proletariat would, and where they have not fought consciously for their own liberation, and where the physical terrain has not been as favorable as in the rest of the country. Fundamentally, the masses will more and more be thrown into revolutionary motion by the system itself. The crisis of the neo-colonial system can only get worse. The exploitation, suppression and oppression of the masses will continue to intensify. More and more they will demand revolutionary solutions. This is the objective logic of motion of the system. All that is needed is a core of professional

revolutionaries organized as the nucleus of the vanguard communist party based on Marxism-Leninism- Maoism and in command of a correct revolutionary line, program, strategy and plan to initiate protracted people's war.

### **Crisis of the Ruling Class:**

The fractional infighting in the ruling class has to do with the conflicts between the two types of capital formation, that is between the comprador and the bureaucrat fractions. As we have analysed, both these fractions are equally agents of imperialism and equally parasitic, fascist and blood-thirsty. Both fractions are represented in the two major capitalist political parties, the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). These two parties also represent the dominant, traditional, entrenched ruling class. Whenever the system is under mortal threat, this ruling class is compelled to act together, even while the infighting continues. Both parties have crushed the people's rebellions in rivers of blood when in power. However, the UNP, historically, has tended to represent comprador capital while the SLFP has represented bureaucratic capital. The UNP historically had established links with imperialist finance capital and had developed well entrenched circuits of capital formation and accumulation. Today, they have developed into a technocratic comprador bourgeoisie where profit generation, growth and efficiency have become the dominant norms. The SLFP, historically was more tied to feudalism and developed its strength through bureaucrat capitalism. The feudal landlord class was more readily transformed into state bureaucrat capitalists through state nationalization, patronage and land reform. There is fierce competition and conflict between these two fractions to get at the spoils of imperialist profit and plunder. They both compete for wielding hegemonic state power. Since the slice of the cake is small, they are at each others throats to grab the cake for themselves. This intra-class contradiction also gives rise to conflicts between the bourgeois-democratic –liberal and mafia-fascist trends within the ruling class. Added to this scenario is the fact of the new contenders who also compete with equal ferocity for state power. These fractions tend to exploit chauvinism and claim to be even more chauvinist than the two established parties. These fractions are represented mainly by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna ( JVP) and the Jathika Hela Urumaya (JHU). This intensifying rivalry and conflict is a crucial advantage for the proletariat to wage protracted people's war.

### **Physical Terrain:**

Sri Lanka offers extremely favorable physical terrain for waging protracted people's war. It has three contiguous mountain areas extending from the plantation highlands in the Central province into the southern, Uva and Sabaragamuwa provinces. Guerrilla warfare had been waged in these areas, particularly in the Central, Uva and Sabaragamuwa provinces against the colonial powers. These areas would form the general area for initiation, expansion and consolidation during the stage of the strategic defensive. These areas also have the potential for building the worker-peasant alliance since they consist of both Tamil plantation workers and poor peasants, where land hunger is most severe. The fact of being a small island, along with the fact that the Sri Lankan state does indeed possess tremendous destructive capacity, and that it is backed by world imperialism in conjunction with the Indian expansionist state do pose some problems. But , the LTTE has shown that even when imperialism and India have ganged up against it in support of the Sri Lankan state that it has been able to withstand genocidal state terrorist aggression. They have mastered the art of regular guerrilla warfare in combination with naval guerrilla warfare and continue to deal heavy blows to the enemy. They have shown exceptional skill in turning

disadvantage into advantage and weakness into strength. The LTTE had defeated the Army of Indian occupation of some 100,000 soldiers and are fighting the Sri Lankan armed forces numbering some 300,000 troops, including highly specialized elite counter-insurgency detachments, with less than 10,000 regular guerrilla forces. They have done so from a relatively small territory with shifting and relatively unstable operational base areas. There is indeed much that we have to learn from the LTTE in terms of its flexible guerrilla tactics, although the protracted people's war will be a qualitatively higher form of conscious mass revolutionary war and the principles governing it will be entirely different from the point of view of class stand, outlook and methods.

### **The Tamil National Liberation Struggle**

The national liberation struggle of the Tamil nation in the North-East is a component of the people's democratic revolution. It is our bounden duty to support this struggle while exerting all efforts to integrate it with the peoples democratic revolution. This can only be done by demonstrating concretely and in practice that we can and will fight together for genuine liberation from imperialism and neo-colonialism by applying the line of protracted people's war creatively, based on principle.

### **Socio-Economic Conditions:**

In general throughout the country, there is a process of intensifying economic marginalisation due to the working of the open market economy. Even in such areas as Polonnaruwa, where the Mahaveli irrigation schemes were expected to perform miracles, the peasants are being driven from the land or have mortgaged their land and are seriously indebted. However, this marginalisation and pauperization is proceeding unevenly, where, in some districts like Hambantota, Moneragala, Badulla, Nuwara-Eliya, Polonnaruwa it is most intense, whereas in the Western and North-Western provinces, it is not as acute. Within these provinces and districts also the process is uneven where in some areas the masses have been thrown into utter desperation. Additionally, the World Bank and the IMF have imposed new conditions which are aimed at tightening the screw even more. New legislation is introduced depriving the workers of the rights and benefits they have won through decades of trade-union struggle, while also driving the peasants to ruin by the import of cheaper products from India and Pakistan etc. These conditions give expression to the law that a " single spark can start a prairie fire ". The strategic question is where and how to ignite the spark and turn it into a blaze.

### **Dynamic of the South Asian Revolutionary Process:**

Elsewhere we have discussed the specificity of the South Asian region as a storm center of the world revolution and how the protracted people's war in Nepal led by the Communist Party of Nepal- Maoist ( CPN-M), as a founding member and vanguard detachment of the RIM, has introduced a new dynamic of a South Asian revolutionary process. We have shown how this dynamic strikes at the heart of the imperialist system and the neo-colonial set-up in the region and how these developments provide the necessity and possibility for accelerating the revolutionary process in the region and worldwide. ( see the document; On the Formation of the Coordinating Committee of the Maoist Parties & Organisations in South Asia – CoCOMPOSA)

### **Lessons From the Negative Experience of the JVP:**

Even though led by the revisionist- chauvinist line of the JVP, the two insurgencies carried out by them, particularly in 1987-1990, show that revolutionary war is indeed possible in Sri Lanka. In this second insurgency, the JVP began by opposing the Indian army of occupation, although in an opportunist manner. Yet, at the initial stage they were popular and the broad masses had sympathy with their cause. They were able to mobilize the youth and students in waves. They developed their military and political capacity rapidly and came to a position where they were referred to as the " small " government. They were able to besiege the state and to literally hold it hostage for awhile. The JVP also led some daring attacks on the army bases where they seized considerable weapons. During this initial stage, the JVP maintained the tactical offensive and carried out armed attacks and activities throughout the South. The tide began to turn against them precisely because they did not apply the line and path of the people's democratic revolution and protracted people's war. Instead they held to a perverted notion of a socialist revolution from above. They had scorned the science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism. They had no need for a vanguard party, nor a people's army and a united front. They only relied on their own heroism and initiative, like typical condescending saviors. They had no analysis of the targets of the democratic revolution so they widened their targets to hit out blindly. They had no agrarian revolutionary program to mobilize the peasants. They had no need to establish liberated base areas. Fundamentally, they had no need to rely on and mobilize the masses to liberate themselves. They simply wished to use the masses as pawns in their chess game to come to power. Finally they were isolated from the masses and put on the defensive. When the state recovered the initiative, the JVP turned to terrorism against the people to compel them to support them. This experience, although negative, shows that revolutionary war is possible in Sri Lanka, but that it has to be based on the scientific line and path of protracted people's war. It shows also that the high level of development of class and national contradictions and the high level of imperialist penetration provide the conditions for accelerating the revolutionary war. All the above factors we have discussed combine to show that protracted people's war is not only necessary, but indeed possible, and that the objective conditions have long since matured for it in Sri Lanka. Now it is up to us to catch up with these developments.

### **Line of Preparations for Initiating Protracted People's War**

The line of preparations itself must be based on a strategic plan. The strategic plan must identify where and how to initiate. It should determine whether to initiate in one area or in several. Whatever the case, it must work out a plan for concentrating in one area and expand in concentric circles. It must determine how to develop armed struggle from the simplest and lowest level of armed activities to guerrilla warfare to establishing operational zones, guerrilla zones and liberated base areas step by step in a spiral motion. The strategic plan must also determine the level of subjective preparations in terms of professional cadre, support networks, basic equipment, logistics and supplies necessary to initiate, sustain and expand in the face of enemy repression. The strategic plan must be based on carrying out the program of the people's democratic revolution with the agrarian revolution as its core. Therefore, it must work out the way to increasingly mobilize the masses, particularly the poor peasants in terms of their class interests based on building the worker-peasant alliance. The strategic plan must also contain the line of building the party, the people's army and the united front step by step in a spiral motion. Building the people's army itself must be based on a plan of developing from the level of guerrilla squads to a guerrilla army to a regular people's army. Finally, it must work out a military line containing an

integrated, though creative and flexible set of tactical and strategic principles for developing the people's war from the stage of the strategic defensive to the stage of the strategic equilibrium and finally to the stage of the strategic offensive, taking into account the logic of motion of consolidation- restoration, advance-retreat, attacking-defending , destroying-preserving, while maintaining independence and initiative at all times.

While giving priority to developing such a strategic plan as the principal task, we must develop a political line to attract, recruit and train advanced forces and build the nucleus of a secret, underground, professional vanguard party and the nucleus of a guerrilla army. This must be done while at the same time intervening in crucial class struggles in the field of ideology, politics and economics, and making an impact broadly and nationally with the aim of propagating the line, program and strategy of the people's democratic revolution and protracted people's war based on Marxism-Leninism- Maoism. The value of any activity and of any mass organization must be evaluated in terms of its contribution to achieving the aim of preparations according to the strategic plan. Division of tasks and responsibilities also must be based on the plan and evaluated accordingly. Each decision and step must be summed up repeatedly to assess progress in terms of achieving targeted objectives as specified in the strategic plan. This way weakness can be identified and turned into strength, mistakes can be corrected and experience gained in developing and applying a correct revolutionary line. Areas of concentration ( initial Base Areas) must be identified in terms of potential for mass mobilization and sinking roots, favorable physical terrain and the strategic logic of concentration- dispersion / expansion-contraction. We would do well to begin on the above basis and orientation. Practice is the criterion of truth. When we begin to practice such a line of preparations then only we can further develop and deepen our scientific understanding. What is needed above all is to make a conscious rupture with the whole legacy of revisionism and reformism and put an end to slavishness and primitivism and make a conscious leap into advanced professional revolutionary practice. The key to open the door is the conscious ability and effort to grasp and apply the science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism.

## **Analysis Of Classes In Sri Lanka In Relation To The People's Democratic Revolution:**

### **Introduction:**

This is a preliminary effort to identify the basic class forces in Sri Lanka in relation to the people's democratic revolution. Our aim is to demarcate friends from the enemies of the people so we may demarcate and concentrate on our targets. The people's democratic revolution corresponds to the class interests of the broad majority constituting 95% of the people, while its enemies constitute a small minority of 5%.

### **The working class:**

The working class is the leading force of the people's democratic revolution. This leadership is exercised in the form of the vanguard role of the Communist Party. The working class has no other option but to wage the democratic revolution as a prelude to waging the socialist revolution in the context of advancing the world proletarian socialist revolution. This is in order to accomplish its historic mission of eradicating the roots of private property and class domination, exploitation and oppression and ushering the new era of Communism.

The working class consists of the workers in the urban industrial and service sectors , the workers engaged in the plantation sector, and the workers engaged in other agricultural and industrial enterprises in the countryside. The workers in the urban industrial and service sectors are the most concentrated sector of the working class. The urban industrial workers are to be found selling their labour power at the diverse industries at the free trade zones and elsewhere and in the state enterprises engaged in manufacturing, refining, distilling and processing. The workers in the service sector are to be found at the harbor, in the field of transport - including road and railway, in the hospitals, hotels, postal and telecommunications and other sub-sectors. Together they constitute the most concentrated sector of the working class and historically been the most militant. These workers formed the backbone of the Great Hartal in 1953, which threatened to unseat the then government in power. Besides these sectors, there is also an informal urban working class sub-sector engaged in daily paid labor in the cities.

The workers in the plantations are to be found in the tea, rubber and coconut plantations. Of these, the workers engaged in the tea plantations constitute the largest, the most concentrated and the most exploited sub-sector. They are predominantly Tamil, having being originally transported to Sri Lanka from India by the British. They are relegated to second-class status and continue to work under a system of bonded labor and suffer acute discrimination as a distinct oppressed national formation. They too have a history of militancy. The plantation workers are at the base of the `real' proletarians, who have `nothing to lose, but their chains'.

There is a large class of landless agricultural workers- rural semi-proletarians- who eke out an existence under the most exploitative conditions. They are spread throughout the rural areas of the country. They are one the most reliable allies of the proletariat in the revolution. The urban-industrial- plantation proletariat forms the backbone and the leadership of the people's democratic revolution. Strategically, the plantation workers have a key role to play in the revolution.

The working class in general has been under the grip of economism and trade unionism for decades. Trade union leaders and bureaucrats form a labor aristocracy and have an interest in maintaining the neo-colonial system. We are confident, that under the leadership of its vanguard communist party, the working class will live up to its responsibility to lead the revolution to victory.

### **The Peasantry:**

The peasantry is divided into several categories. The most numerous are the peasants engaged in paddy cultivation as their main means of livelihood. There are other peasants who are engaged in the cultivation of fruits and vegetables as their main means of livelihood. Then there are the fishermen. The entire peasant sector is stratified in terms of 1) landless peasants who are forced to sell their labor to better off peasants, 2) poor peasants who are economically desperate and heavily indebted, 3) middle peasants and 4) rich peasants. The middle peasants are further divided into those whose livelihood is daily sinking, those who manage to hold to their present status and those who have some means of improving their lot. The majority fall into the first sub-division. Apart from the rich and well to do middle peasants, the poor and landless peasantry and the lower sections of the middle peasants in general suffer acute economic oppression, particularly under the open market economy. They have mortgaged their land to the rich merchants and traders ( Mudalalis) and are being marginalized and driven off their land. This is a widespread phenomena. It is to be found even in the most developed irrigated areas under the Mahaveli scheme. The highest rate of suicides due to indebtedness come from these areas. The fate of the poor fishermen is the same. Those who own their boats are being marginalized by middle level and rich fishermen who have acquired better technology, including multi-day crafts. Everywhere in the peasant sector we find the rich peasants and fishermen being subsidized by the state as part of extending political patronage, while the poor peasants and fishermen are left to ruin. The oppressed sections of the peasantry, including the fishermen, need the people's democratic revolution in order to liberate themselves

from the bondage of neo-colonialism and semi-feudalism. The peasants, particularly the landless and poor peasants and rural semi-proletarians, form the basic ( driving) force of the people's democratic revolution, which has the agrarian revolution as its core. The peasants have historically been in the forefront of the national liberation struggle throughout the colonial period. But their heroic struggles have failed due to the lack of scientific revolutionary leadership. We are confident that, under the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party, guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism, the peasants will once again prove to be the driving force of the people's democratic revolution.

### **Other Sections of the Rural Petit Bourgeois.**

These sections of the rural petit-bourgeoisie consist of teachers, students, Ayurveda physicians, small traders and entrepreneurs. The lower ranks of the religious clergy too belongs to this category. These sections too suffer from imperialist domination and semi-feudal / neo-colonial suppression. They face acute marginalisation through the workings of the open market economy. They also need the people's democratic revolution as the only way out of their oppression.

### **Urban Petit Bourgeoisie:**

The urban petit bourgeoisie is made up of professionals, cultural performers, office workers and small and medium entrepreneurs. Those who fall into the lower and middle ranks of the urban



petit bourgeoisie need the democratic revolution in order to fulfill their national democratic aspirations since they are crushed by the big comprador bourgeoisie. However, the upper ranks of this intermediate class who are tied ideologically and economically to comprador-bureaucratic capital will tend to oppose the democratic revolution, but will not provide active resistance on their own. These forces will have to be neutralized, if not won over to the democratic revolution.

### **National Bourgeoisie:**

The national bourgeoisie in our country is a weak, flabby and vacillating class. This is basically due to the fact that colonialism and now imperialism has left only a marginal space for independent internally-driven capital formation and accumulation. The national capital that formed under colonialism was predominantly comprador-bureaucratic and tied to and dependent on foreign capital. Besides, the bourgeois democratic revolution was politically co-opted and aborted by the comprador-bureaucratic bourgeoisie from the very outset. As a result, there was never any serious national liberation struggle against imperialism in our country led by the national bourgeoisie compared with India, Egypt, Turkey and certainly, China, and so on. What took place was a process of the most servile, peaceful protest by the upper caste, big bourgeoisie and landlord class for a formal transfer of power in the form of setting up a neo-colonial puppet state. Therefore, the national bourgeoisie, from the very beginning, came under the economic, social and political domination of the semi-feudal / comprador-bureaucratic / big capitalist-landlord class. The national bourgeoisie was also co-opted by the dominant Sinhala big-nation chauvinist ideology of the neo-colonial state. As a consequence, there has never been any basis economically or politically for this class to play a progressive anti-imperialist / anti-feudal role in our country. This is not to say that there is no role for progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie. It is to say that this national bourgeois class formation and capital formation has been suppressed, distorted and co-opted by the comprador-bureaucratic / semi-feudal / neo-colonial state and ruling class. Therefore, the nascent national bourgeoisie needs a sweeping democratic revolution to grow and develop as a class, which only the leadership of the proletariat could provide. There are middle level capitalist class forces who would prefer to manufacture our own paddy seeds, our own hammer, spade and sickle, our own rubber products etc on a self-reliant basis, but they cannot even think of doing so under the present system due to being suffocated by the hegemony of comprador-bureaucratic capital and its ruling class.

The classes as analysed above constitute the anti-imperialist / anti-feudal united front of the peoples democratic revolution. The working class constitutes the leading force and the peasantry forms the basic force of the democratic revolution. The worker-peasant alliance forms the basic alliance for building the united front in the context of waging the people's democratic revolution through the strategic path of protracted peoples war.

### **National Question:**

The people's democratic revolution will uphold the right of self-determination of the oppressed Tamil nation and fight for the democratic rights of all the oppressed nations, communities, castes and groups. The people's democratic revolution will mobilize the masses to fight all forms of semi-feudal / neo-colonial domination. It will mobilize the oppressed women to fight against their suppression by all forms of male-dominated political, economic, social and cultural relations and conceptions. It will mobilize the revolutionary ardor and audacity of the youth. It will mobilize all these oppressed class and social forces as an invincible, indivisible revolutionary force to

overthrow imperialism and crush the state power of the neo-colonial / semi-feudal ruling class. It can be seen that the united front of these progressive classes and social forces constitute the vast majority of the people all of whom need national independence and people's democracy in order to liberate their productive potential and enjoy their freedom. These classes and social forces constitute the basic class alignment of the people's democratic revolution.

### **Comprador – Bureaucratic Capitalist Class.**

The comprador-bureaucrat capitalist class constitutes the main enemy and target of the people's democratic revolution. The comprador bourgeoisie and the bureaucrat bourgeoisie share the common aspect of being the agents of imperialism. However, they are distinguished in the mode of appropriation of surplus value. The comprador bourgeoisie is directly tied to international finance capital and is dependent on it for its survival and growth. These monopoly capitalists engage in productive activities as junior partners of imperialism. As such, they do not engage in developing the national economy nor in serving the needs of the people. In fact, they join in the exploitation of the people and in the plunder of the natural resources to increase the profits of international capital. The bureaucrat capitalists play the same role and function as agents of imperialism. Their main mode of exploitation and surplus appropriation, however, is through the state. All the heads of the major state corporations, departments and agencies are partners of bureaucrat capitalism. They feed off fat commissions from foreign investment and loans. In the present context, all the ministers and members of parliament, in general, are part of the bureaucrat capitalist class since they too use the state for amassing vast fortunes. The usual mode of appropriation of this sector is through bribery and corruption and commissions, while enjoying the multitude of state privileges and perks. The comprador and bureaucrat capitalists form a unified ruling class, although there are serious conflicts between the various fractions over sharing the spoils of imperialist profit and plunder. Both are essentially and equally parasitic and reactionary in their character and together enforce the fascist dictatorship of the ruling class through the neo-colonial state.

The comprador-bureaucratic monopoly capitalist class and their political agents constituting the semi-feudal / neo-colonial ruling class as represented by the United National Party ( UNP), the Sri Lanka Freedom Party ( SLFP) and the rest of the parliamentary cohorts are enemies and targets of the people's democratic revolution. So are the various chauvinist organizations that support the state. The die-hard reactionary sections of the top hierarchy of the clergy belonging to all religious orders, along with all the paid lackeys of the state are also enemies and targets of the people's democratic revolution. Together, these forces constitute only 5% of the population.

The people's democratic revolution will unite and mobilize the broad majority of the anti-imperialist / anti-feudal forces against the neo-colonial state which represents the class dictatorship of this blood-sucking parasitic minority. It will crush the armed power of this state, along with establishing its political and ideological hegemony and establish the people's democratic state through the armed seizure and exercise of political power by the masses under the leadership of the proletariat, through the path of protracted peoples war. The people's democratic state will represent the unity of all the anti-imperialist / anti-feudal progressive classes, nations, communities and people, with the worker-peasant alliance as the foundation for advancing to the socialist revolution, in the context of advancing the world proletarian socialist revolution.

## **Comrade Shan: Defender and Guide of the Path of Proletarian Revolution and Communism**

No one shall enter the gates of proletarian revolution and communism in Lanka without carrying forward The revolutionary legacy of Comrade Shan.

### **Introduction**

Our effort in this presentation is to discuss the contribution made by the leader of the Ceylon Communist Party ( Maoist), comrade Nagalingam Sanmugathan to the proletarian revolution and the cause of Communism This is undertaken as a way of demarcating the line between genuine scientific proletarian revolution, socialism and communism and the false bourgeois-revisionism that parades under various red flags. This demarcation is joined to a ranging discussion of the philosophical, ideological, theoretical and political principles of Marxism, focusing on the fields of Scientific Socialism, Proletarian Revolution and Communism. It is meant to introduce the reader to the conceptual landscape of Marxism in the form of a sweeping survey with the hope that such a discussion would serve true revolutionaries to grasp and apply the science of revolution. It is not meant as a substitute for studying the basic texts of Marxism. The discussion is aimed at drawing the line of demarcation between genuine socialism and the socialism of the bourgeoisie. We are trying to demarcate the scientific path of revolution from the treacherous path of the bourgeoisie who raise the banner of our class to deceive and defeat us. Our intention is to place these questions in front of the advanced revolutionary forces so they could unite to grapple and resolve the problems of our revolution and leap forward to build the vanguard communist party of our class as preparations for waging the peoples democratic revolution in the form of protracted peoples war. . Only those who are genuinely committed to objective scientific truth and are searching for the path of proletarian revolution, those who wish to serve the masses to realise their own true revolutionary will and capacity to bury this system and conquer their own world of freedom, and are therefore committed to exercising disciplined conscious energy to probe and settle the questions of theory and strategy of the Lanka revolution should proceed beyond in reading.

### **Objective Criteria For Demarcating The Path Of Proletarian Revolution.**

The discussion develops a line of reasoning and argumentation aimed at demonstrating the following concrete principles as necessary conditions for demarcating the path of proletarian revolution in the context of Sri Lanka: These principles are:

- 1) Honoring by critically appropriating the revolutionary legacy of comrade Shan.
- 2) Grasping and applying the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism for which he stood,
- 3) undertaking the task of claiming, rectifying, revolutionising and reorganizing the party he led, and,
- 4) Implementing this task as a way making conscious organizational preparations for initiating and waging the peoples democratic revolution in the form of people's war.

These are the essential conditions for demarcating a genuine scientific proletarian revolutionary line from all forms of bourgeois revisionism. These are objective criteria and conditions for becoming a true communist revolutionary and for serving the highest and most advanced revolutionary class interests of the people. All else is illusion and leads but to the path of capitulation and betrayal.

### **Revisionist Betrayal & Lessons Paid In Blood**

All are free to decide. You may chose the path of the Hon Socialist Members and Ministers of the Feudal-Comprador/ Mafia-Fascist state: The Hon Socialist Members and Ministers of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka which has sold the country to the dogs of imperialist plunder. The Socialists who sit and dine at the dog's table to share the feast of profit and plunder , and throw crumbs and bones at the starving masses to keep them away from overturning the table and driving out the dogs of plunder . The revolutionaries who chain the masses to the system and use them as pawns and sacrificial lambs in the bid to gain some space and position in the parliamentary dictatorship of the fascist rulers. The people have paid with their blood for false socialism. They have shed blood for both the parliamentary socialism of the English-speaking, Western-educated, upper class, upper-caste elite gentlemen, and for the rural educated, insurrectionary- vanguard of socialist liberators who dictate the revolution and command the masses to follow- at the cost of death. Both these are varieties of revisionism, the revisionism of the ballot and the bullet. Both varieties represent the socialism of the high priests, of chosen heroes and saviors, of a Marxist religion standing above and beyond the masses deciding and commanding the fate of the revolution and of the people. The people have been driven a full circle by these Marxists and Socialists. We start from the socialism of the decrepit "Old Left" parliamentary revisionists – the Cotta Road revisionists and the LSSP Trotskyites, who now share state power as junior and subordinate partners and ministers of the feudal-comprador ruling class. These traitors are united in selling the country and pimping off fat commissions and bribes, repressing and suppressing the people, including in conducting a state terrorist war against the Tamil nation. This is one variety of Revisionism. These relics still wear red shirts as they sit in the cabinet.

Then we have its equal and opposite reaction with the JVP, moving to armed revisionism of the Guevarist type that rejected the people- the role of the workers and peasants and the oppressed masses- and substituted the insurrection of the heroic vanguard. The vanguard of the displaced and frustrated petit-bourgeois intellectuals, who use the banner and slogans of true Marxism and Socialism as they please to pursue their bourgeois-chauvinist revisionist class line and interest. The people paid with their blood and the revolution lost its rising generations. This tendency developed into a full-blown racist, bourgeois revisionist, social- fascist form that applied systematic terror against the people. The socialist revolution that hunted down those who would have any sympathy or solidarity with the Tamil national liberation movement. Revolutionaries who brutally slaughtered the people who would vote or approve of the bourgeois provincial councils which proposed some fake autonomy to the Tamil nation. Socialist revolutions that turned the guns against the people, that terrorized and suppressed the masses, and ultimately led them to be destroyed by the state. Socialist insurgencies led by Marxists who surrendered their guns to sit and join the same enemy at the same table they vowed to overturn. This was an utter degeneration of the armed variety of bourgeois revisionism. Again, the people were led down the treacherous path of revisionism, of capitulation and betrayal and they paid with their blood. Now

we have entered the new and even higher level of the "socialist revolution" being legislated by 'revolutionary' members and ministers of the JVP through the very same provincial councils and the very same state and parliament which have drowned the peoples revolutionary struggles in blood. Bourgeois revisionism of the radical-militant, marxist-socialist, red-shirted revolutionaries who engage in mortal and perpetual combat as the only truly genuinely anti-imperialist, revolutionary socialist- bourgeois chauvinist -parliamentary opposition. The Marxist-Socialists of the JVP, the Cotta Road Revisionists and the LSSP all have the blood of the people on their hands. All these socialists have defended the centralized, unitary, feudal-colonial fascist state and its class dictatorship in its war against the Tamil people. They have waged counter-revolutionary terror against the masses. They have joined hands to disarm, deceive and divide the masses and help the rulers defend and perpetuate their fascist state. Lessons Paid Blood: The history of Revisionism in Lanka: From parliamentary socialism to insurrectionary- terrorist socialism and a summersault backwards to good old parliamentary- fascist socialism..

### **It Is Time To Bury The Heap Of Accumulated Revisionist Rot.**

The people have paid with their blood for the crimes of betrayal of the bourgeois-chauvinist, class collaborationist- revisionist imposters . It is time that true revolutionaries drew their ideological swords to settle this question. We must settle the path of the revolution and demarcate it from revisionism in theory and practice among the people. We must arm ourselves with the invincible sword of our class, the all-conquering science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism. The integrated system of scientific philosophy, political economy and proletarian revolution: the scientific distillation of the historical experience of the proletariat in seizing and exercising state power, in revolutionizing society, in constructing Socialism, in conquering the universe and mastering the self through conscious mass revolution and practice; the most advanced scientific system of social revolution and human liberation. We must take out our swords and engage in a decisive ideological battle to expose this revisionist rot. We must ruthlessly expose all those who willfully distort, degrade, deny and bury the red flag by hoisting it in the sky. We must establish the hegemony of our class and of the science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism. This must be done by uniting to build the Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist) on new revolutionary foundations as preparations for waging the people's democratic revolution in the form of protracted people's war. This is the crucial importance of engaging in an evaluation of Comrade Shan as a communist revolutionary.

### **Some Notes On Method Of Analysis And Presentation:**

The method adopted here is to

- 1) Draw a sweep of history and to situate the proletarian revolution and Communism in its universal context,
- 2) Evaluate the role and contribution of Comrade Shan in serving and advancing the proletarian revolution and the cause of Communism, and
- 3) Draw a line of demarcation between scientific proletarian revolution and bourgeois revisionist counter-revolution, between Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Revisionism.

Let us try to engage in a serious discussion - although in a somewhat free flowing way, so we can try to spread wings and soar like eagles while being aimed at the target. That is to say, so we can move back and forth from the abstract to the concrete, from the general to the specific, from perceptions to conceptions, advance from partial, fragmented, distorted, subjective knowledge to rational scientific objective knowledge, move from illusion and appearance to reality and essence, from ignorance to knowledge, from false consciousness to class consciousness. The flow of the discussion may tend to be discursive and even repetitive. Major crucial points will be emphasized over and over again. At the end of the exercise we would have crossed a bridge by making a radical rupture with revisionism and a conscious leap to becoming true communist revolutionaries and prepare ourselves for the revolution.

### **Evaluation Of The Life And Legacy Of A Communist.**

The life of a communist revolutionary, and more so of a communist leader, is measured in terms of the contribution made in advancing the cause of Communism. This means only one thing; Advancing the world proletarian socialist revolution. Advancing the revolutionary struggle in one's own country is viewed primarily and fundamentally as a contribution towards achieving the final goal; the overthrow of the imperialist system and achieving the communist world order- as a new stage and era in the historical evolution of human society. Communists are revolutionaries who base their thoughts and actions on the science and path of proletarian revolution developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. They owe allegiance to the international proletariat and the world revolution. In doing so, they represent the highest, most advanced revolutionary class interests of the workers, and of the peasants and all exploited and oppressed people of their country and remain in the forefront of the struggle to liberate their country from imperialism.

So we should try to raise our understanding of Communism and the proletarian revolution. This will help us to deepen our understanding and arrive at a proper evaluation of the role and contribution of Comrade Shan. Such an exercise is indispensable for all genuine revolutionaries who are serious about organizing and guiding the revolution. This is no idle exercise in eulogizing a leader and a legacy. A critical evaluation of the role and contribution of Comrade Shan and upholding his revolutionary legacy; grasping and applying the revolutionary principles he stood for- the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism - and rebuilding the party he led as a way of preparing for waging peoples war- this is way of the proletarian revolution in Lanka. These principles constitute the foundation for waging and winning the proletarian revolution and serving the world revolution.

### **Proletarian ( Communist) Revolution As A Process Of Natural History**

The proletarian revolution is the only scientific form of revolution which strikes at the very roots of the imperialist system and lays the material and ideological conditions for recreating the world on new foundations. The most conscious, uncompromising, radical and systemic revolution of the most exploited class and oppressed masses of the world. The revolution of the oppressed slaves conquering their world of freedom. . A historical process where already unprecedented heights of conscious revolution to end all forms of slavery have been scaled by the slaves of exploitation and oppression –marked by the peaks of the Paris Commune, the Great Russian Socialist Revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Epochal nodal points of evolutionary ruptures and transformation of human society from the realm of scarcity and necessity to the

realm of abundance and freedom. This is what the Communist revolution -- scientific proletarian revolution -- is about.

The proletarian revolution is a process of natural history. A dialectic of gaining conscious mastery over nature, society and the self by overcoming scarcity and necessity through conscious revolutionary practice. The struggle of the classes in society is the motor force of human history advancing through revolutions with each ascending class seizing state power and exercising its dictatorship and creating the world in its own image. The class struggle drives human society through intractable limitations and barricades to achieve unprecedented leaps to rid itself of all forms of ignorance and slavery. The class struggle is a process of Nature evolving towards ever greater conquest of itself through the ceaseless emergence and resolution of contradiction. The class struggle is a process of the motion and evolution of Matter in the form of a fundamental contradiction between forces of production and relations of production.

### **Fundamental Contradiction Between Forces And Relations Of Production**

The process of social evolution is generated by the fundamental contradiction of History between the forces and relations of production. The social relations of production refer to the structural principle underlying the organization of human society- the way in which people are structured to produce and reproduce their conditions of survival corresponding to the level of development of economic production. The social relations of production are determined by the level of development of the forces of production. Along with historical progress and the evolution of an economic surplus, social production and reproduction gets organized on the basis of private property and the division of society into antagonistic classes. At each stage of social development, these social relations of production are ruptured through social revolution in order to bring about a new and higher form of social organization in accordance with the new level of conscious mastery gained. This takes place as the class struggle where the progressive forces of production are represented by revolutionary oppressed classes waging political struggle to overthrow their oppressors and the conditions of their oppression by the seizure and exercise of their own state dictatorship.

The internal logic for the generation of the communist world revolution lies in conscious purposeful, willful human social struggle and activity, based on scientific knowledge and philosophic awareness directed at transforming, appropriating and recreating the material-physical world and achieving universal freedom from scarcity, ignorance, domination and slavery. This logic of evolution which underlies human history is driven and determined by the class struggle- by the revolutionary struggles of the slaves, the exploited, oppressed and powerless people to break their chains of slavery by smashing the power of the slave-masters. This is how history advances. This is how human society develops and advances. The communist revolution involves the most radical, decisive rupture with all relations and ideas rooted in private property and class society. The communist revolution involves the conscious destruction of the old world and creation of the new by those who have been dominated, exploited and abused- by the slaves of the system. This is a historical act of mass conscious revolution that must bring down and bury the system of imperialism and the rule of capital, once and for all, in order to win final victory. – The communist revolution is completed only when the masses eradicate the conditions of their slavery and thereby of pre-history and property, and enter the stage of becoming the conscious masters of the universe, the architects and engineers of their own freedom and future.

## **Proletarian Internationalism Is The Heart And Soul Of Communism.**

Proletarian Internationalism refers to the law that " Either we all shall conquer the world of Communism and achieve liberation or no one shall!" This law expresses the profound truth that the imperialist system has to be radically overthrown, smashed and uprooted completely and finally, on a world scale, in order to reconstitute the world and human society on the basis of universal abundance and freedom. This great transition is achieved by the forcible expropriation of the ruling classes of all power to exercise domination over society. This is done by the willful appropriation and application of the infinite productive-creative power of humankind accumulated throughout history in all fields of human endeavor to the collective task of achieving the universal liberation of the human species from the scourge of scarcity, property and slavery. It is achieved when the accumulated wealth of knowledge, experience and wisdom of all positive, liberative, progressive philosophy, science and culture is synthesized and applied to create the material and ideological conditions for universal prosperity based on the voluntary union of the people of the world. It is achieved when we all engage in a common quest for conscious mastery over the forces of nature, society and the self collectively to liberate the human species from all want, ignorance and illusion. Then the stage of scarcity, property and slavery is overcome leading to the era of material abundance and freedom. This abundance, this infinite creative-productive power- creates the basis to build the world and human society on new philosophic- scientific, practical-organisational principles and foundations of universal human liberation. Achieving Communism and human emancipation is therefore a collective historical process of mass revolutionary struggle and transformation requiring the construction of a new form of organisation of human society as a whole, embracing all of humanity. The communist revolution, is in its very essence, a universal-historical process of the evolution of the human species. It is aimed at the eradication of the material and ideological soil of private property and class society and the illusion of the atomized self. Its about the liberation of the world and humankind. Either we all claim and build heaven on earth or no one shall. This is the scientific principle underlying proletarian internationalism. Proletarian internationalism gives expression to the truth that the condition for the freedom of each is the freedom of all. In this statement of scientific- philosophic truth Marxism conquers all other systems of philosophical and religious thought. It conquers the continents of history, society, philosophy and ideology scientifically.

## **The Three Continents Of Marxism. Scientific Philosophy, Political Economy & Scientific Socialism**

For the first time, Marxism illuminates the path of freedom in scientific light. Freedom brought down from the gods, turned upside down and right side up. The freedom enforced by the slave masters and the priests is revealed as slavery. The freedom of the slaves, of the people, to bow and pray to the dogs that enslave them is revealed, and the gates of human liberation opened for the world. Freedom as the universal-historical struggle waged by humankind to free themselves from their chains of ignorance and slavery through conscious revolutionary struggle against all forms of domination.. Humankind bound together and destined to grasp the laws that govern the universe, society and the self in order to claim and create their world . Bound together to destroy and transcend all external and internal barricades and forces that stand in the way of achieving their true liberation. The struggle of classes driving the laws of motion of this historical process of social evolution; a process of the new and rising class destroying the old parasitic class and establishing dictatorship over society to claim and create their world. Capitalism paves the way for the proletariat to rise up as a world historical class whose mission is to destroy the system of



imperialism as the final stage of property and class society and to advance society to the stage of Communism, through establishing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the transitional form of the Socialist revolution. Marxism opens the door to universal Truth for the first time in history. This Truth does not require any culturally determined impositions and distortions. Nor any mystical abstraction or inverted projection. No heaven or hell. No exclusive claim to inaccessible purity or superiority, no basis for any domination or subordination and no place for ignorance and illusion. It conceives of matter in motion, change and transformation as the starting point for rational scientific discourse. Reality as matter in motion working through contradiction. Dialectical Materialism as the science of Natural History, of Truth and Reality. Contradiction and Struggle, perpetual motion and transformation, affirmation through negation, ruptures giving birth to leaps of freedom, perpetual conflict and permanent revolution. No myth and superstition and no gods and religion. For Marxism, there is only forms of matter in endless motion and transformation as an expression of the ceaseless emergence and resolution of contradiction. Human society seen as the product of the natural evolution of Matter, as History. Not the creation of projected abstractions imagined in the heart and mind of class-divided, oppressed and alienated humans.

History refers to a higher form of matter in motion in the form of an organization of a self-directed, conscious species that struggles to rupture and overcome all internal and external barriers in the way of achieving scientific enlightenment and freedom. Marxism discovers and derives the laws of motion of nature and history- the laws of social evolution and human liberation. On this basis, Marxism establishes the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution and communism. In our era, this process is realized through the struggle of the proletariat as a world-historical class to destroy the foundations of property, uproot the soil of class society and advance human society to a whole era of history. This is achieved by the final worldwide defeat and destruction of the system of imperialism by waging the world proletarian socialist revolution. This is the path of proletarian revolution cleared by Marxism. Marxism establishes a whole new landscape of knowledge and consciousness lit by the light of the science of revolution and liberation. Marxism establishes scientific domain in the continents of history, philosophy, political economy and socialism. The key to the door is the scientific discovery that freedom consists in organized practical mass struggle consciously directed at overthrowing all slave-masters and oppressors, breaking all chains of ignorance and slavery and mastering the world and the Self through their own activity. Freedom to be conquered through the most conscious, radical and advanced mass revolution in history. Freedom as waging the proletarian revolution to overthrow imperialism, eradicate the roots of property and class society and recreate the world and the self on the basis of universal enlightenment and cooperation in communist society. (The reader is advised to study the document " *The Three Components of Marxism*", by Lenin, for the most concise summation of this development. This document is available with the Study & Criticism Collective.)

## **Grasp And Apply Science To Raise Our Level Of Conscious Revolutionary Practice.**

Marxism- which has since developed to the stage of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism- is the science of the proletariat and it must be studied seriously and deeply and applied and developed continuously and consistently. For this one must be engaged in correct revolutionary practice. Consciousness is derived from Matter. Social Consciousness flows from Social Being. Mind derives from Body, the Mental is derived from the Physical, the Spiritual is derived from the Material, Thought is a product of Activity. Consciousness overcomes Matter, Activity overcomes Limitation and Necessity. In this system of science, practice opens the door to theory and functions as the test of theory. Correct revolutionary practice, that is, conscious, organized, disciplined, professional practice in building the revolutionary party and preparing the masses for waging proletarian revolution, is the basis for the proper study and application of the science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism. . Problems to be solved, contradictions to be resolved. How best to serve the people and advance the revolution?. Only when you confront these questions practically and organizationally, only this practice, opens up the door to the all-conquering

invincible science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The lessons and principles to be grasped here are: You have to be scientific and fight consciously to win freedom. You cannot fight and win freedom alone, as an individual, country, nation or people. You can only fight together united as the international proletariat and the oppressed people of the world. The proletariat is the only class in history that has the scientific consciousness and the organized political will, unity, discipline and fighting capacity to destroy and overcome all barriers of property, scarcity and slavery. Only the proletariat can lead the struggle for freedom – for the universal emancipation of humankind in the form of achieving-conquering -- Communism. Therefore to be a genuine revolutionary, to be a genuine Marxist and Socialist, you have to practice proletarian internationalism as the foundation of all your thoughts and actions.

### **Applying A Proletarian Internationalist- Revolutionary Communist Line**

Proletarian Internationalism requires that the revolutionary line, program and strategy followed in any country must be developed and applied as a particular expression of the General Line of the International Communist Movement. This is because, what a communist revolutionary does in ones country is to struggle to uphold and apply the most advanced scientific revolutionary communist line. The scientific line which can lead the proletariat, in unity with the oppressed masses, to overthrow imperialism and neo-colonialism, establish its state power, revolutionise society and the world, and emancipate humanity from self and property, through the self-reliant conscious revolutionary struggle and activity of the masses. Grasping this scientific principle of proletarian internationalism correctly and deeply is essential for a true appreciation of Comrade Shan and to draw a line of demarcation between true and false revolutionaries. Applying this line to all aspects of organized practice is essential for becoming a communist revolutionary and to wage the proletarian revolution- and win. This is because, only the scientific revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism, of which proletarian internationalism is a foundational principle, can mobilize the oppressed masses of the world to unite as a force to bring down the system of imperialism and to build their own world of freedom. Applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and proletarian internationalism to waging revolution is the way to serve the international proletariat and the oppressed people of the world. It is the way of serving and advancing the world revolution. It is the only way to wage revolution scientifically and achieve true liberation. It is the path to communism-and freedom. A communist revolutionary believes that proletarian internationalism should be the foundation for constructing the scientific line that should lead and guide revolution anywhere and everywhere at all times and under any conditions. For the communist revolutionary, there is but one revolution which is waged throughout the world- and that is the world revolution. The revolutionary struggle one is organizing and building in ones country derives from and is an integral part of the world revolution. It is there to serve the goal of advancing and hastening the world revolution. This is the law of proletarian revolution and the essence of proletarian internationalism. All other short-cuts, quick results, hyped-up spectacular dramas, whether with the bullet or the ballot, whether as secretive conspirators and terrorist assassins, whether as the bearded gurus of the select order, the chosen masters, the heroic saviors, the hon. members and ministers of parliament, all of whom are united in degrading, denying and betraying the role of the masses in liberating themselves through waging conscious organized revolution! All the accumulated reformist, parliamentarist, economist, chauvinist, terrorist-insurrectionist bourgeois-revisionist rot that has paraded and deluded the masses under the red flag of the proletariat and led them towards naked capitulation and betrayal - all this pile of foul revisionist rot has to be incinerated and cast aside- if we are to wage revolution and WIN.

Every revolutionary party or individual has to be judged in terms of unfailing loyalty to the principle of proletarian internationalism. To betray it, or waver away from it, is to betray the revolution, to degrade it, to ensnare it in the death trap of bourgeois nationalism and the ideology of the bourgeois self., and lead it to defeat and disaster. Generations of true revolutionaries have been and are been led astray by revisionist bourgeois forces who cover their rabid chauvinism and reactionary bourgeois nationalism under the cover of the red flag. Those who call for the blood of the Tamil people, who fail to uphold their right to form their own state and insist they be bombed by the comprador fascist state in which they share power! We need to strip naked these imposters, these grotesque bourgeois distortions for all the people to see and learn.

### **The World Proletarian Socialist Revolution.**

The revolutionary struggles in the individual countries are the essential and integral components of the world proletarian socialist revolution. Their essential role lies in advancing and hastening the world revolution by destroying as much of the old imperialist order and bringing forth the new Communist world order through all stages and phases, and twists and turns of the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. The revolutionary struggles in the individual countries, and the proletarian state power established by them, function as the base areas of the world revolution and are valued only to the extent they contribute towards advancing the world revolution. The revolution has no other value nor reason to exist. Equally, a communist has no other value nor reason to exist other than to advance the proletarian revolution- in one's own country and in every other country- on a world scale. This is because for Communists, the proletarian revolution and the dawning of communism is an expression of the law of motion of history, of the evolution of human society, the scientific path of the liberation of the people and the emancipation of humankind. As Marx said, "The proletariat cannot emancipate itself without emancipating humankind " and ended the Communist Manifesto with the call:" Proletarians of the World Unite! You have Nothing to Lose but your Chains. You have a World to Win."

Therefore, a communist revolutionary is engaged in the struggle to defend, apply and advance the revolutionary line of the international proletariat at all times, against all odds and above all costs. This means that the revolutionary line in any country must be aimed at and based on the line of advance of the world revolution. In this context, genuine Communist parties are obliged to engage directly and vigorously in the crucial line struggles that emerge in the International Communist Movement since there can only be one correct scientific line internationally and internally. The General Line of the International Communist Movement represents the most advanced scientific concentration of the theory and practice of the world proletarian socialist revolution. In our era, It is based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Therefore, the life of a communist revolutionary, and in this case, the life of a communist leader, must be valued in terms of the contribution made in the defense and advance of the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In this respect, Comrade Shan has made a most crucial contribution to the cause of defending and advancing the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution. Anyone who wishes to dedicate their lives to build and wage the most radical, all-out, all-round revolution- the communist revolution in our country; Anyone who wishes to engage in the revolution aimed at the final decisive victory over imperialism and, along with it the pre-history of slavery, and usher in the new world of universal human emancipation, cannot but raise their hand in salute to the father of the communist movement in our country, honored leader and beloved teacher- Comrade Shan.

## **Imperialism: The Eve Of The Proletarian Revolution And The Dawn Of Communism.**

Imperialism is the highest and final stage of class society based on private property. It calls forth infinite productive power in the form of the development of science and technology- the infinite power to harness, transform and recreate the forces of nature, society and the self in accordance with achieving willful, conscious planned objectives. Imperialism creates the economic basis for the emancipation of humankind from scarcity and slavery only by creating universal anarchy, misery, degradation and slavery. Imperialism charts the stars, planets and the universe, yet it destroys the earth and all that is human, in order to survive as a system of profit, plunder and domination. Yet, most fundamentally, it calls forth the international proletariat and the people of the world, armed with revolutionary science and united as a force, to wage the most conscious determined revolution to destroy the state power of imperialism in the citadels and the colonies, as a global-international, universal system of domination, exploitation, oppression and war and reclaim and recreate the world on new foundations. . The whole system of social organization based on private ownership and appropriation of all wealth, resources and means of sustenance by a ruling class exercising dictatorship by its command of state power is to be negated finally and decisively by organized mass conscious revolution throughout the world , laying the basis for a world free of scarcity, private property, class society, and all forms of exploitation, domination and oppression generated by such structured necessity. This is what the Communist revolution is about. The communist revolution is the highest, most conscious, most radical, most concentrated and most profound and fundamental mass revolution and involves the leap into a new era of human history.

# ON THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE TAMIL NATION.

## Introduction

Upholding the right of self-determination of the Tamil nation is a question of fundamental principle. It constitutes a line of demarcation between genuine revolutionary, progressive, democratic forces and all reactionary, chauvinist, fascist forces. It draws the line between imperialism and the neo-colonial state, and the people. This question has now been intensely debated for decades. Still, it has not been settled. Many honest forces who oppose the war and support or sympathise with the Tamil national movement continue to vacillate on the question of upholding the right of national self-determination. The question itself has been distorted. It has been distorted by the state, by all types of right-wing racists, and by all stripes of revisionists who parade as Marxists and Socialists. The old parliamentary "Left" made up by the Trotskyite Lanka Sama Samaja Party ( LSSP) and the pro-Moscow Cotta Road Revisionist Sri Lanka Communist Party have long since betrayed the revolution and become Ministers in the fascist neo-colonial state and have been collaborating in the state terrorist war against the Tamil nation. The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, ( JVP ) which has abandoned armed revisionism and joined in the parliamentary fascist bourgeois dictatorship, has been in the forefront of denying the right of self-determination of the Tamil nation and in opposing any form of sharing power. The JVP is in the forefront in urging the fascist state to intensify its terrorist war against the Tamil nation. This they do under the guise of Marxism-Leninism and Socialism. It should be patently clear that these traitors stand with the neo-colonial state and imperialism and are collaborating in drowning the people's struggles in blood. It is time we settled this question. We shall do so by taking on the argument presented by the JVP. Once their brand of rank revisionism is understood by the masses the rest of this putrid chauvinist-fascist camp will fall like a pack of cards.

## JVP And The Right Of National Self-Determination

The JVP's political line on the Tamil national question has been set forth in the book "The National Question and its Solution" by its founding leader Don Patabandige Nandasiri Wijeyaweera. The JVP has emphasized different aspects of this line at different times to suit their needs. However, its political line is constituted by the following arguments: 1) That both Marx and Lenin abandoned the right of national self-determination; that Lenin, in particular, did so following the establishment of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics ( USSR) since it no longer corresponded to the requirements of constructing Socialism. 2) That the Tamil nation has not undergone any specific oppression or discrimination as a nation, but have only endured the same form of deprivation as all other people arising from economic inequality 3) That the Tamil national movement is a CIA-Thondaman conspiracy against the Sinhala-Buddhist nation 4) That the LTTE is a separatist fascist organization which must be militarily crushed 5) That the unitary character of the present neo-colonial state must be preserved at all costs 6) That only the JVP could solve the problems of the Tamil people under Socialism, when it comes to power. It must be noted that the political stand of the JVP is essentially identical with those forwarded by other right-wing chauvinist trends such as the Sihala Urumaya , the Veera Vidhahana, the Sinhala Commission and the National Movement Against Terrorism etc. The only difference is that the JVP covers up its right-wing fascism in the 'left' cloak of Marxism and Socialism and uses a different argument in its negation of the right of self – determination. .

Taking the first point, the JVP would go so far as paint Marx and Lenin as a rank opportunists in order to cover up its pile of revisionist crap . We challenge the JVP to prove that these great leaders of the international proletariat had abandoned this right at any time. On the contrary, we intend to prove that upholding the right of oppressed nations to self-determination is a cardinal principle of the proletarian revolution and an integral part of the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. We shall quote from the works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao to conclusively assert our position and leave it to the reader to decide. Everyone will have to decide since the question strikes at the very heart of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism, the proletarian revolution and Socialism. This exposure would suffice to rip open the rotting stinking revisionist essence of the JVP and of the entire spectrum of such red-shirted revisionists parading under the banner of Marxism and Socialism. The present leader of the JVP, Mr Somawansa Amarasinghe, who has miraculously fled and found refuge in Paris, belittles this question by stating that the only time Marx made reference to the right of national self-determination was with respect to Poland, which he later abandoned. ( See the interview published in the Lankadipa- (6-8th Sep. 2001). This dolt, just like the founder leader of the JVP – Wijeweera- piles up so much shit hoping that the stink itself will prevent anyone from taking the time to expose it.

### **Marxism-Leninism-Maoism And The Right Of National Self-Determination.**

Let us begin with Lenin's references to Marx since we are certain that all those who respect truth will prefer to get the truth from such a source. This is what Lenin has to say:

" The proletarian revolution calls for a prolonged education of the workers in the spirit of the fullest national equality and brotherhood. Consequently, the interest of the Great Russian proletariat require that the masses be systematically educated to champion most resolutely, consistently, boldly and in a revolutionary manner, complete equality and the right to self-determination for all the nations oppressed by the Great Russians...Our model will always be Marx, who after living in Britain for decades and becoming half-English, demanded freedom and national independence for Ireland in the interests of the Socialist movement of the British workers" ( Lenin: The Awakening of Asia. Progress Publishers. Moscow. P.32).

Lenin states that;

"Just as mankind can achieve the abolition of classes by passing through the transition period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, so mankind can achieve the inevitable merging of nations only by passing through the transition period of complete liberation of all oppressed nations, i.e., their freedom to secede"(Lenin: On the Colonial and National Question: Foreign Language Press. Peking ).

He asserts that;

"It was precisely from this point of view that Marx, although a centralist, preferred even the federation of Ireland with England to the forcible subjection of Ireland to the English... It was precisely from the standpoint of the revolutionary struggle of the English workers that Marx in 1869 demanded the separation of Ireland from England, and added, although after the separation there may come federation." (Ibid).

In fact, Marx asserted that unless the English working class fought for the liberation of Ireland, they themselves would never achieve liberation. Indeed , Marx's formulation on this question was that;

"No nation which oppresses another can achieve its own liberation."

Lenin refers to Marx in order to demolish the arguments of such revisionists like the JVP today. He says;

"Only in this way was Marx able- unlike the apologists of capital who shout about the right of small nations to secession being utopian and impossible, and about the progressive nature not only of economic but also of political concentration- to urge the progressive nature of this concentration in a non-imperialist manner, to urge the bringing together of nations, not by force, but on the basis of a free union of the proletarians of all countries. Only in this way was Marx able, also in the sphere of the solution of national problems to contrast the revolutionary action of the masses to verbal and often hypocritical recognition of the equality and self-determination of nations..." ( Ibid).

Now let us see what Lenin himself has to say directly about the right of self-determination. In the article *The Working Class and the National Question*, Lenin says;

"In our times the proletariat alone upholds the real freedom of nations and the unity of the workers of all countries. For different nations to live together in peace and freedom or to separate and form different states ( if that is more convenient for them), full democracy, upheld by the working class, is essential. No privileges for any nation or any one language! Not even the slightest degree of oppression or the slightest injustice in respect of a national minority -- such are the principles of working class democracy." (Awakening of Asia. P 31: Our emphasis).

As to the argument that Lenin abandoned this right following the establishment of the USSR, it is just a pack of lies, just as in the case with Marx. Lenin's position on this question is crystal clear:

"Victorious Socialism must achieve complete democracy and, consequently, not only bring about the complete equality of nations, but also give effect to the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, i.e., the right to free political secession. Socialist parties which fail to prove by all their activities now, as well as during the revolution and after its victory, that they will free the enslaved nations and establish relations with them on the basis of a free union- and a free union is a lying phrase without the right to secession- such parties would be committing treachery to socialism." ( Our emphasis ).

It is as if Lenin had anticipated the treachery of the JVP. Here is what Lenin has to say in his "*Preliminary Draft Theses on the Colonial and National Question*" written as late as in June 05, 1920;

"In the sphere of internal state relations, the national policy of the Communist International cannot be limited to the bare, formal, purely declaratory and in reality, non committal recognition of the equality of nations to which the bourgeois democrats confine themselves- no matter whether they frankly admit themselves to be such or whether they assume the name of Socialists, as for example, the Socialists of the 2nd International."

In his "*Report of The Commission on the National and Colonial Questions*" dated July 26, 1920, he states,

"First, what is the most important, the fundamental idea of our theses? The distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations" (ibid).

On the basis of these facts, it is sheer vulgar revisionism and crass perversion to claim that Marx and Lenin had abandoned the right of nations to self-determination. Lenin's thesis is that, with the formation of the USSR, the question of the right of self-determination is no longer part of the old bourgeois democratic revolution, but becomes part of the proletarian socialist revolution. Finally, Mao confirms the Leninist position on the right of self-determination. Mao quotes that;

"As far back as October 1916, in his article, *The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up*, Lenin said that the main point of the national question, the right to self-determination, had ceased to be a part of the general democratic movement, that it had already become a component part of the general proletarian socialist revolution."

Lenin's thesis is that, with the formation of the USSR, the question of the right of self-determination is no longer part of the old bourgeois democratic revolution, but becomes part of the proletarian socialist revolution. It is clear that rather than abandon the principle of national self-determination, Lenin and Mao insist on upholding it in the context of the proletarian revolution and socialism.

By no means does Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin or Mao abandon this principle. We can be sure that they certainly would not uphold the preservation of a neo-colonial fascist unitary state, nor certainly support its terrorist war against the right of self-determination of an oppressed nation. The true essence of their proletarian revolutionary line is that Socialists must support all progressive struggles of the oppressed nations against the oppressor state, including its right of self-determination. At the same time, in the era of the proletarian revolution, the proletariat must independently carry out its own class line and program so that such struggles may not end up as states belonging to the imperialist system but to the Soviet system. The proletariat must strive to unite with and divert the national struggles away from the defunct path of the old bourgeois democratic revolution to the path of the proletarian revolution as part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. Socialists prefer the union of all oppressed nations as opposed to their separation. Socialists struggle for the unity of the proletariat and all oppressed people in the common struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. Yet Socialists advance their program not by denying the right of self-determination, but, on the contrary, by upholding it unconditionally. This is the only way to bring about the free union of all nations and the way to build the unity of all oppressed nations on a democratic basis. The only way to struggle for a unified centralized proletarian state is to uphold the right of oppressed nations to self-determination and to support their struggle for this right against the oppressor state. As Lenin states it; " We demand freedom of secession for the Mongolians, Persians, Egyptians and all other oppressed and unequal nations without exception, not because we favor secession, but only because we stand for free voluntary association and merging as distinct from forcible association. That is the only reason. (Awakening of Asia p. 45). Let us state Lenin's views again where he addresses the problem of upholding the right of national self-determination on the one hand while striving for the union and merger of states on the basis of democratic centralism in the interest of the proletarian revolution: Such repetition is necessary to drive the stake right through the heart of the JVP vampire!" The right of nations to self-determination implies exclusively the right to independence in the political sense, the right to free political separation from the oppressor nation. Specifically, this demand for political democracy implies complete freedom to agitate for secession and for a referendum on secession by the seceding nation. This demand therefore is not the equivalent of a demand for separation, fragmentation and the formation of small states. It implies only a consistent expression of struggle against all national oppression. The closer a democratic state system is to complete freedom to secede the less frequent and less ardent will the desire for separation be in practice, because big states afford indisputable advantages , both from the standpoint of economic progress and from that of the interests of the masses. Furthermore, these advantages increase with the growth of capitalism. Recognition of self-determination is not synonymous with recognition of federalism as a principle. One may be a determined opponent of that principle and a champion of democratic centralism but still prefer federation to national inequality as the only way to democratic centralism. It was from this standpoint that Marx, who was a centralist, preferred even the federation of Ireland and England to the forcible subordination of Ireland to the English." ( ibid. p. 33). It is this revolutionary dialectical essence of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism



that the JVP distorts and perverts in the name of Socialism in order to mobilize its racist-chauvinist- fascist political base. As against this principle, to support the oppressor state in its war to militarily crush an oppressed nation -- on whatever grounds and regardless of the class character of its present leadership; to support the oppressor state in its policy of liquidating the identity of an oppressed nation, to deny in whatever manner or form the right of an oppressed nation to freely decide upon its future, to insist upon the unitary character of a neo-colonial fascist state against the right of self-determination and struggle of an oppressed nation for liberation, as does the JVP, -- is to engage in the most vile form of treachery. It is a form a social fascism -- Fascism in the guise of Socialism.

## **National Oppression And The Right To Self-Determination Of The Tamil People**

The second argument of the JVP is so banal that it does not merit refuting. Yet this argument has found some currency given that it is being propounded with pompous authority by Neanderthal professors and certain high priests as well. The common argument is that the Tamil people have not suffered any specific injustice or oppression. If at all, they have benefited from colonialism. The JVP's position is slightly different, but contains the very same reactionary essence of negating Tamil nationhood. Its position is that Tamil people have only suffered the same economic inequality as everyone else but have not suffered political oppression as a nation. This is intended to liquidate the Tamil national question and forms its basis to oppose the struggle for self-determination. First of all, it is the height of arrogance for a political force from the dominant majority nation like the JVP to claim the authority to decide the nature and character of oppression of a minority nation and to deny that it has not suffered any national oppression. This is itself rank chauvinism. Beyond this, this is being asserted in the face of the most glaring facts that any rational person would care to admit, except rabid racists such as the JVP. The truth is that the Tamil people living predominantly in the North-East have been subjected to a policy of systematic and intensifying discrimination, oppression and violent subjugation politically, economically, socially and culturally as an oppressed nation. The oppressed people of other minority ethnic communities such as the Tamil plantation workers, Moslems, Burgher, Malay etc have also suffered equally from this policy of dominant-nation chauvinism resulting in economic marginalisation and political subjugation. The Tamil plantation workers and their families, in particular, have been subjected to the most intense form of economic exploitation and political subjugation.

## **Origins Of National Oppression:**

From the outset, the British imperialists transferred political power and set up the neo-colonial state in order to entrench the political hegemony of the Sinhala feudal-comprador bureaucratic ruling class as part of its strategy of divide and rule. Before the transfer of power, the representatives of this class consisting of all the major national and ethnic communities were united in its opposition to direct British rule. However, upon receiving state power, the Sinhala ruling class, represented by the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), took every step systematically to exclude these other communities- particularly the Tamil speaking people, from state power and to subjugate them. The Pan-Sinhala cabinet of 1937 was willfully set up to exclude Tamils. Both parties vied with each other shamelessly to champion Sinhala chauvinism on the official language issue in the 1956 general election. Subsequently, The Sinhala- Only Official Language Act was passed in 1958 to willfully degrade and politically

displace the Tamil language and identity. Innocent Tamil civilians were hunted, hounded, burnt, slashed and murdered in cold blood in 1958 by Sinhala mobs with state patronage, because they were Tamil. The Bandaranayake- Chelvanayagam Pact which attempted to provide the minimum political concessions to the Tamil people was opposed and defeated by the then parliamentary opposition ( UNP) and by saffron-robed racists mobilized by them, because it offered some degree of political status to the Tamil nation. Similarly, the Dudley-Chelvanayagam Pact which offered the same concessions was opposed and defeated by the very same political coalition – the SLFP, in league with the Trotskyites and pro-Moscow Revisionists- who had introduced it earlier. The Republican Constitution drafted by the Trotskyite Minister and passed in 1972 with a 2/3 Sinhala majority legally enthroned the hegemony of the Sinhala comprador ruling class and the privileged status of the majority Sinhala-Buddhist nation, and reduced all minorities, including the Tamil nation to second class status. In 1974, the International Tamil Literary Congress was set upon by the state police where nine Tamil citizens were mowed down. The 1977 post-electoral violence targeted Tamil people in the North-East and in the plantations. Let us remind the JVP and all other fascists that all the Tamil political parties and organizations, including the Ceylon Workers Congress representing the plantation Tamil people, adopted the Vaddukkodai resolution in 1976 unanimously, declaring the intention of the Tamil nation to struggle for a separate Tamil state, since they all felt they could no longer live with dignity, equality and security together under the Sinhala- dominated state. At the 1977 general elections, the overwhelming majority of the Tamil people in the North-East voted in favor of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF ) which had been mandated to struggle for a separate Tamil state. The TULF won 18 out of some 24 seats in the North-East and became the leading opposition party. The UNP government, with a Sinhala-dominated 5/6 majority in parliament, passed the 6th Amendment to the constitution, which made the demand for a separate Tamil state itself illegal. This parliament passed the infamous Prevention of Terrorism Act which was specifically designed to violently crush the Tamil national liberation struggle- and which is being used even today for the very same purpose. The Jaffna library belonging to the Tamil people- a cultural heritage of priceless value - was burnt in the wake of openly rigging the District Development Councils in 1981 destroying some 95,000 items of rare and irreplaceable literature. This was a form of cultural genocide committed by the state against the intellectual heritage of the Tamil nation. The DDCs had been offered as a sop to placate the TULF so they may give up the demand for a separate state. Even this crumb was snatched by fascist dogs of the state. The 53 political prisoners in state custody under maximum security who were bludgeoned to death in 1983 by drunken Sinhala prisoners were Tamil. These mobs were unleashed by the state. Innocent, unarmed Tamil civilians were murdered and their houses looted and burnt by Sinhala mobs again in 1983 because they were Tamil and as part of subjugating the Tamil nation.

### **The War Of National Liberation.**

Following the events of 1983, the Tamil youth set up their political organizations and took up arms to wage war against the state as the only way to defend their dignity and identity as a nation. Consequently, The state was forced to negotiate terms with the armed groups. All Tamil political parties and organizations, including the LTTE, submitted a common set of proposals at the negotiations with the state in 1984 referred to as the Thimpu Principles. These common principles declared the Tamil people to constitute a nation with the right of national self-determination. Once again, the entire spectrum of Tamil political opinion, the whole of the Tamil nation, had declared that they wished to live as a free and independent nation since they would no longer endure the

indignity, injustice and gross, systematic and intensifying violation of their fundamental human and democratic rights under the Sri Lankan state. Fundamentally, the Tamil people were not addressing economic issues but the political issue of independent statehood as an oppressed nation. The war that is being waged today is a state terrorist war aimed at the liquidation of the right of self-determination of the oppressed Tamil nation. This war is being opposed by the war of national resistance waged by the Tamil nation. It is led by the LTTE and its aim is to win the right to live as a free and independent nation with dignity, equality, democracy and security. As an alternative to a separate state, the LTTE has expressed its willingness to settle for a system of sharing state power where the right of self-determination could be exercised internally. The Tamil people have been subjected to a most brutal state terrorist war now for nearly two decades. The bombs that fall in the North-East fall on the Tamil people. The Tamil people have been denied basic means of livelihood. Close upon a million Tamil people have been displaced. Innocent Tamil civilians have been massacred. Tamil women have been repeatedly gang raped by the armed forces of the state. Tamil places of worship, schools, villages have been deliberately targeted. Mass graves attesting to illegal killings have been revealed. All this has been done to the Tamil people because they are Tamil. Because they have dared to rise up as a nation against state oppression and violent subjugation. In the face of all this glaring truth, the JVP claims that the Tamil people have not suffered any national oppression. The JVP claims that the Tamil have not been subjected to any specific form of political subjugation. On this basis they call for militarily liquidating the LTTE. This is nothing but the perverted, inverted logic of Fascism. The logic of political forces who are so ideologically bankrupt that the only way they can aspire to grab state power is by satisfying the craving for domination and supremacy of the lowest, the most backward, the most narrow and selfish of human instincts.

### **The Convolutions Of JVP Chauvinism**

From its very inception, the JVP revealed its fascist-chauvinist- racist bourgeois class character, which it took pains to hide under the banner of nationalism and patriotism. From the beginning, even in 1971, the JVP claimed that the Tamil plantation workers, the most brutally exploited sector of the working class, were enemies of the revolution constituting the fifth column of Indian Expansionism. During the second insurrection, in the 1989-91 period, they claimed that the Tamil national movement in the North-East was a CIA-Thondaman conspiracy. Mr Thondaman was the bourgeois leader of the Ceylon Workers Congress which is the main trade union organization of the plantation Tamil workers. This was with the intention of raising communal hatred against the Tamil plantation workers by linking their struggle with the LTTE. It is strange that the US would proscribe the LTTE as a terrorist organization and assist the state in suppressing it militarily if the LTTE is a part of its conspiracy. Furthermore, the JVP leadership, in the heat of its insurrection, held secret meetings with the same Mr Thondaman in 1990 to broker a deal with the then President. Let the JVP explain these gymnastics to the people. What is clear is that the JVP –and all other such fascist forces- have allied themselves with imperialism, particularly US and British imperialism, and with Israel and the Indian Expansionist state. These powers have all assisted the state in the war against the LTTE. All these powers are all involved in a conspiracy to drown the LTTE and the Tamil national liberation struggle in a river of blood!! Beyond this, all these fascist forces claim that the present Tamil national liberation movement is a separatist political trend deriving its roots from the South Indian Tamil invasions in ancient times and that it is aimed at the total destruction of the Sinhala-Buddhist nation. These tribal-feudal interpretations form the base assumptions of the argument of the entire fascist camp. In his book referred to above, the

former founding leader of the JVP had proclaimed that they would hang every Eelamist ( Tamil nationalist) on lampposts. This is the how the JVP intends to solve the Tamil national question under its " socialist" program once it comes to power!!!

## **Dynamics Of The Tamil National Liberation Struggle**

We have shown that the Tamil national liberation struggle has developed as a result of internal factors- the systematic and intensifying oppression and violent subjugation of the Tamil nation by the feudal-comprador/ mafia-fascist state. The fact that the Tamil national movement has sought allies within the imperialist system to advance its cause is not a reason to deny the national democratic essence of its struggle for self-determination. Let us recognize a fundamental truth. The reason that the Tamil national struggle fell into the hands of a bourgeois leadership such as the LTTE is because the " Left " movement in the country capitulated to the Sinhala Buddhist chauvinist camp, became partners in the fascist state and betrayed the cause of the Tamil people. The so-called Left movement fundamentally betrayed the revolution by joining forces with the neo-colonial ruling class. The Ceylon Communist Party ( MAOIST ) , while being one of the few political parties upholding the right of self-determination of the Tamil nation, failed to take up the path of people's war and to give leadership to this struggle. In this context it is inevitable that non-proletarian forces would rise up and take leadership to fight for the cause of the oppressed Tamil people. No body should begrudge this fact. Rather, they should accept it and be thankful that non-proletarian class forces at least have succeeded in rising to the challenge and support that struggle as a matter of principle. Armed with this attitude, while being ashamed of their own lack of political will and capacity, genuine revolutionaries should exert all conscious efforts to make up for their shortcomings by making active organizational preparations for establishing the leadership of the proletariat in all such struggles of the oppressed people through the path of the people's democratic revolution and protracted peoples war, which is the only path to the genuine liberation of the oppressed. As for the JVP's defense of the unitary character of the feudal-comprador/ majoritarian- hegemonic / mafia-fascist neo-colonial state, we refer once again to Lenin who invokes the authority of Marx and Engels to settle the servile worship of the bourgeois state and its territorial integrity: " The policy of Marx and Engels on the Irish question serves as a splendid example of the attitude the proletariat of the oppressor nations should adopt towards national movements, an example which has lost none of its immense practical importance. It serves as a warning against that "servile haste" with which the philistines of all countries, colors and languages hurry to label as utopian the idea of altering the frontiers of states that were established by the violence and privileges of the landlords and bourgeoisie of one nation". ( ibid, p.28) Lenin drives the point home with such force that all those who worship the unitary state in Sri Lanka would stand exposed. " The proletariat cannot remain silent on the question of the frontiers of a state founded on national oppression, a question so unpleasant for the imperialist bourgeoisie. The proletariat must fight against the enforced retention of oppressed nations within the bounds of the given state, which means that they must fight for the right to self-determination. The proletariat must demand freedom of political separation for the colonies and nations oppressed by their " own" nation. Otherwise, the internationalism of the proletariat would be nothing but empty words..." (ibid: p. 34)

## **The Class Character Of The LTTE**

The LTTE is the only political organization that has consistently struggled for the right of self-determination of the Tamil nation. It continues to wage war against the Sri Lanka state. It waged

war against the army of occupation of the Indian Expansionist state and defeated it . This war has been waged now for close upon two decades. The LTTE has won the respect of the oppressed Tamil masses and of all genuine progressives for its intransigent stand and commitment to the right of self-determination.

Bourgeois class forces fight according to their class interests, as every class does. The LTTE embodies the national democratic aspirations of the oppressed Tamil masses-as opposed to all other Tamil political organizations which are comprador bourgeois forces acting in league with the Sri Lankan state. However, the LTTE, being a bourgeois class force, fights according to its bourgeois vision, line, strategy and program. Its primary aim is NOT the liberation of all humankind from the chains of capital- from private property and class society. On the contrary, it fights to preserve private property and class society and wishes only to share power in the system of imperialism and neo-colonialism. Ultimately, it seeks only the liberation of its own nation so it can set up its own bourgeois state. As such, it is natural that it should seek alliances with imperialist powers and reactionary neo-colonial rulers as opposed to mobilizing the masses for a revolutionary onslaught against imperialism and neo-colonialism. It is also a fact that the LTTE has practiced counter-terrorism in confronting state terrorism, and has done so with brutality. This has served to alienate the broad Sinhala masses from its struggle and to disrupt the unity of all oppressed classes and nations in the common struggle against the neo-colonial state and imperialism. It is also a fact that the LTTE commands the masses rather than mobilize them consciously to liberate themselves from their semi-feudal / neo-colonial chains.

These negative bourgeois aspects of its ideological and political line do not mean that the LTTE is a reactionary force, only that it has also embodied bourgeois reactionary aspects. In essence, the LTTE is a historically progressive force which is fighting for the freedom and independence of the oppressed Tamil nation. So long as it embodies the national democratic aspirations of the Tamil masses and opposes the neo-colonial state it remains a progressive force, in spite of its bourgeois class essence. It is the duty of all genuine socialists and democrats to support the struggle of the Tamil nation for liberation and the struggle being waged by the LTTE on its behalf and to oppose the genocidal war waged by the state. This is the only position that upholds the interest of the workers and oppressed masses of Sri Lanka in a genuinely revolutionary way. This is the only way, as Lenin has so powerfully emphasized, for the revolutionary proletariat to win over the exploited and oppressed masses of the oppressed nation in support of its own Socialist banner and program in a truly revolutionary democratic way.

### **Tasks Of The Proletariat In Relation To The Right Of Self-Determination**

Lenin addresses how the proletariat should approach the principle of self-determination when such a struggle is waged under the leadership of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation:

" Insofar as the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation fights the oppressor, we are always, in every case, and more strongly than anyone else, in favor, for we are the staunchest and most consistent enemies of oppression. But, insofar as the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation stands for its own bourgeois nationalism, we stand against. We fight against the privileges and violence of the oppressor nation and do not in any way condone strivings for privileges on the part of the oppressed nation." ( On The National Question: Selections from Lenin and Stalin: p.20).

Again, Lenin's formulations have a direct bearing on developing the proletarian line on bourgeois leadership such as that of the LTTE in relation to upholding the right of self-determination.

"The bourgeois nationalism of any oppressed nation has a general democratic content that is directed against oppression, and it is this content that we unconditionally support. At the same time, we strictly distinguish it from the tendency towards national exclusiveness; We fight against the tendency of the Polish bourgeoisie to oppress the Jews etc." ( Ibid. P.20).

Stalin also addresses the question of how the proletariat should approach this question of support for the right of self-determination.

" ...The same must be said of self-determination. Nations have a right to arrange their affairs as they please; They have a right to preserve any of their national institutions, whether beneficial or pernicious- nobody can ( nobody has a right to!!) forcibly interfere in the life of a nation But that does not mean that the Social Democratic Party (i.e., Communist Party) will not combat and agitate against the pernicious institutions of nations and against the inexpedient demands of nations. On the contrary, it is the duty of the Social Democratic Party ( Communist Party) to conduct such agitation and to endeavor to influence the will of nations so that the nations may arrange their affairs in the way that will best suit the interests of the proletariat" ( Marxism and the National Question: Mass Publications. Calcutta. P 69.)

In supporting the right of self-determination of the Tamil nation, the revolutionary proletariat is NOT obliged to tail behind the banner or program of the bourgeois leadership of that struggle. It is obliged to uphold the right of self-determination as a principle, precisely as the basis and condition for fighting for its own independent line and program which is to advance the world proletarian socialist revolution. It upholds the right of self-determination of the oppressed Tamil nation, including the right of secession, as the basis and condition for building the unity of the oppressed people of Sri Lanka in the common struggle against imperialism and the neo-colonial state under the leadership of the proletariat and its Communist party. As such, while it firmly upholds the right of self-determination of the oppressed Tamil nation, it denounces the anti-people, pro-imperialist policies and actions of the LTTE which serve to disrupt the unity of the oppressed people. It criticizes and exposes the narrow bourgeois nationalist line and program of the LTTE . At the same time, it recognizes that the LTTE also has sharp contradictions with imperialism, feudalism and neo-colonialism. The proletariat exerts every democratic and principled effort to influence the LTTE and the Tamil national liberation struggle in the direction of participating fully and consciously in the peoples democratic revolution, which alone can decisively defeat and overthrow imperialism, neo-colonialism and feudalism. It does so on the basis of staunchly defending and advancing proletarian internationalism, the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the cause of the world proletarian socialist revolution - as the basis for preparing to initiate its own revolutionary war in the form of People's War aimed at liberating the oppressed classes, nations and people of Sri Lanka, including the oppressed Tamil masses. It does so by building the Communist party on the basis of integrating the Tamil workers and oppressed masses under the leadership of the proletariat to fight together as one single invincible revolutionary force with all other exploited and oppressed people, while giving the fullest expression to the national democratic aspirations of the Tamil nation.

## **BASIC ISSUES OF THE TAMIL PLANTATION NATIONALITY IN THE HILL COUNTRY**

### **Introduction.**

Every year we commemorate International Human Rights Day and the UN declaration of universal human rights with much fanfare. We uphold the United Nations as the guarantor and guardian of the international regime of human and democratic rights. Well, we have all witnessed how the UN has covered up and provided justification for the wars of naked aggression by the US and Britain and their coalitions against the people of Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine. The historical trajectory of the UN has been to function as the defender of the imperialist system, par excellence! Let us examine how the international regime of human rights apply to the Tamil plantation people. The concept of human rights refers positively to a regime of enforceable fundamental rights which guarantee a life with dignity, security, autonomy, prosperity and democratic freedom for all citizens and communities. It would mean that all individuals enjoy equal access to life chances to pursue their interests, realize their full creative potential and promote their well-being. It would mean that citizens and communities have the power to decide over their conditions of existence and the capacity to transform them. Negatively, it would mean a life without any form of enforced subordination, a life free of perpetual poverty, indebtedness, fear, insecurity and ignorance. When such a definition is applied to the Hill Country Tamil plantation people, what is to be observed is a persistent, gross and systematic violation of fundamental human and democratic rights. What can be stated is that the conditions of existence confronting the Tamil plantation people in the Hill Country are a profound indictment of the regime of human rights whether internationally or in the country. Indeed, the history of the Hill Country Tamil people has been, and continues to be, one of intensifying violent suppression, brutal exploitation and social marginalisation. The Hill Country Tamil plantation people continue to live under conditions of bonded slave labor, stripped of all power to decide and dominated by feudal-patriarchal, colonial-bureaucratic, hegemonic-chauvinist forms of subordination.

### **Colonial Capitalism And The Historical Trajectory Of The Violation Of Human Rights**

This violation of humanity has its origins with British colonial occupation and domination, and the ruthless suppression and plunder unleashed by the British East India Company. With the forcible expropriation of land and the opening up of the plantation economy in the Hill Country, the British felt compelled to import modern slave labor from India. This modern slave labor market was created through the massive expropriation of land, the deliberate pauperization of the poor peasants and the creation of devastating famines in India during the eighteenth century. The creation of a massive army of the destitute and unemployed made it possible to drive tens of thousands of dispossessed and desperate Indian peasants to seek means of sustenance by toiling for Colonial slave masters under inhuman conditions in the plantations of the Hill Country in Lanka. The concept of modern wage slavery developed by Karl Marx could be seen to be concentrated in all its brutality when applied to the conditions of existence of the Tamil plantation workers. In his outstanding work, A History of the Up-Country Tamil People in Sri Lanka, Nadesan quotes from Engels to make the case. "The Indian immigrant workers on the coffee plantations were driven like slaves and compelled to toil from dawn to dusk. Their wages could hardly buy the barest necessities of life. They lived in such hovels, says Engels, " as were livable

only for a physically degenerate race, robbed of all humanity, degraded, reduced morally and physically to bestiality". Capitalism was introduced to Sri Lanka by the colonial powers with the cannon and the bible and nurtured in the soil with the blood, sweat and tears of the Tamil plantation people. Capital accumulation was undertaken by enforcing a regime of state terror under which the Tamil plantation workers were subjected to the most degrading and inhuman forms of violent suppression and brutal exploitation.

### **Responses To The International Struggle Against Colonial-Imperialist Domination**

The rise of Socialist states and the spread of national liberation struggles in the 20th century targeting Imperialism and colonial domination threatened the foundations of the old colonial order. The rise of mass resistance against British rule in India and the possible emergence of a powerful anti-imperialist struggle in Lanka compelled the British to install a client state and relinquish direct occupation. For this purpose, they formally transferred colonial state power to a class of local feudal landlords and comprador capitalists who would live off the spoils of imperialist exploitation and plunder, and who could be relied on to deceive, divide and violently suppress the masses – as had been done in the past.

### **The Construction Of The Feudal/ Neo-Colonial, Hegemonic / Chauvinist State.**

With the aid of this servile ruling class, a feudal-colonial state was rigged up to appear as a democratic state of the people, along with a parliamentary form of representative government. The parliamentary form of representation was constructed as a deadly trap to deceive, divide and violently suppress the masses. The modern state was constructed to preserve and perpetuate the hegemony of a Sinhala-Buddhist dominated feudal-comprador ruling class. This ruling class came to be represented mainly by the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). Both these parties have engaged in deceiving, dividing and violently suppressing the masses on behalf of their foreign masters. They have joined in the brutal exploitation of the Tamil plantation workers and shared in the spoils of neo-colonial profit and plunder. They have both taken turns in whipping up rabid chauvinism and unleashing communal pogroms against the Tamil people throughout the country, including in the Hill Country. They have together committed gross, systematic and intensifying violation of the human rights of the Tamil plantation people, and continue to do so.

### **Multiple Forms Of Subjugation, Subordination And Suppression.**

All leading social indicators demonstrate the truth that the Tamil plantation people have been ruthlessly discriminated against and deprived of basic human and democratic rights in all aspects of life. The plantation Tamil people suffer extreme discrimination in terms of land, education, health, housing, income and employment. They are held hostage by the Estate Management Companies and deprived of the fundamental right of free association, speech and organization. All their social activities are monitored by a type of mini police regime within the Estate that enforces submission through political, economic, social, cultural and psychological forms of intimidation and control. Beyond this deprivation, the Tamil plantation people have been denied political status as a nationality, even though they share a distinctive language, religion, and a common economic, social, cultural and psychological way of life. Instead, they have been treated as stateless citizens. They had been stripped of citizenship and voting rights by the very first



Sinhala-dominated parliament under the UNP. The SLFP leadership competed for the racist mantle by trying to repatriate most, if not all of them, back to India. The so-called " Left" parties – The Cotta Road Communists, the LSSP, JVP –have all abandoned their Socialist cause, and that of the Tamil people, to join the parliamentary bandwagon, and have become the standard bearers of the feudal-colonial state. Not to be outdone, the JVP simply dismissed the Tamil Plantation workers as the " Fifth Column of Indian Expansionism" and declared them enemies of the revolution. The entire Sinhala-dominated feudal/ colonial political establishment defined the Hill Country Tamil people as outcastes to be either dumped or marginalized out of existence.

However, by engaging in a most protracted and militant struggle, most of the Tamil plantation people have claimed their rights of citizenship and voting. The tragic fact is that this has not empowered them to decide and transform their conditions of existence. In fact, it has served to rob them of their power and sovereignty even more. The system of parliamentary representation has only served to entrench a highly privileged and corrupt ruling class lording over the Tamil people. Trade union emperors have emerged as part of this ruling class. They all partake at the ruling feast, while throwing crumbs to keep the starving dogs away. This modern feudal-colonial-patriarchal power structure generates and reinforces the multiple forms of national, class, caste and gender subordination experienced by the Tamil plantation people. Along with the most degrading forms of subordination as a nationality where they are referred to as outcaste " Indian" Tamils and treated with ridicule and contempt, internally the Tamil plantation social structure is based on enforcing a rigid traditional- feudal patriarchal system of social relations. Added to national oppression and class exploitation are the systemic violations of human rights issuing from archaic caste and gender based feudal hierarchies.

### **The Way Forwards Towards Liberation.**

The deliberate isolation and incipient suppression of the struggle of the Tamil plantation people to win their fundamental political rights as a distinct oppressed nationality is one main cause for the crisis of human rights prevailing in this sector. This has been due to the fact that these struggles are led and controlled by highly privileged, bureaucratic trade-union power structures and political parties that have a vested interest in preserving the status quo. These trade unions have distorted and restricted this political struggle and channeled it into a reformist struggle for economic demands, while reinforcing all the relations of subordination. A whole host of parasitic lawyers have also grown to feed on the ignorance of the Tamil workers and profit from the violation of their rights. NGOs dispense funds and build careers by corralling the spirit of resistance by offering subsidized aspirins, toilets and cows.

The Tamil plantation people need to form relations of solidarity with the Sinhala and Moslem people in a common struggle to overthrow the comprador-bureaucratic state. The Sinhala and Moslem oppressed people should support the struggle for liberation of the Tamil people. They are in the same plight. The state and the prevailing power structures are the main violators of the fundamental human rights of the Hill Country people. Ultimately, the state is responsible for generating violent political conflict among its nations and communities and for violently suppressing the people. The state is responsible for communal pogroms unleashed against the Tamil people. It is to be ultimately held responsible for the recent communal depredations at Bindunuwewa, Talawakele, Ginigathena and Mawanella. It is responsible for unleashing naked state terror on the people, including massacres, to rob their electoral mandate. Only when the Hill

Country people get mobilized to challenge and change this political order will they empower themselves to enforce their fundamental rights, as a step towards winning final liberation. Freedom will not fall from the skies, nor bestowed by kovil deities. The Hill Country Tamil people will not be granted liberation from others- Not from gods, nor trade union bureaucrats, corrupt politicians, nor from the state. These are all agents of mass deception. The Hill Country Tamil people have gained a sense of human dignity and security only through their own bitter struggle and sacrifice. They will achieve freedom only when they learn to breakdown the barricades of enforced division and isolation and overturn the hierarchic and hegemonic structures that generate violent subordination, through their own conscious, self-reliant organization, mobilization and struggle. To achieve the final goal of liberation they must forge their proletarian class solidarity with the other oppressed classes, nationalities and communities in the common revolutionary struggle to achieve a People's Democratic State.

## **REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS TO THE HEROIC PEOPLE OF NEPAL.**

We raise our red salute to the heroic people of Nepal, to the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist, and to Chairman Comrade Prachanda, initiator and leader of the People's Democratic Revolution and Protracted Peoples War in Nepal. We share with you the grief over the fallen martyrs who have shed their blood for the revolution. As with the blood that has been spilt by our class worldwide and by the slaves throughout the ages, the blood of the fallen martyrs shall replenish our vision, nourish our courage and sharpen our aim and determination.

The people's democratic revolution you are waging against imperialism and semi-feudal oppression targeting the comprador-bureaucratic/ autocratic-fascist state have gone through many complex twists and turns. It has faced savage counter-revolutionary repression. It has already exacted tremendous struggle and sacrifice. Through the path of protracted people's war you had not only grown in strength, but also scaled new heights and achieved historic advances. You had kept aflame the fire of our science – the all-conquering science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. You had raised the torch of people's war from the rooftop of the world. The glorious banner of Maoism and Communism you had hoisted through protracted peoples war spread its crimson splendor from the silver summits of the Himalayas across the skies and the world, bringing joy and hope to the oppressed people everywhere.

The CPN-M and the people of Nepal have played a crucial role at a difficult turning point in the development of the International Communist Movement following the loss of Mao and Red China, and in the formation and growth of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. Your revolutionary struggle had served to defend, apply and advance the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the path of the Communist revolution, through the thunder of people's war. This new Spring Thunder served to explode the mask of revisionism and bring out the critical revolutionary essence of our science in a living creative way through the revolutionary war of the masses. Along with the glorious peoples wars led by Maoists in Peru, India, Turkey, Bangladesh and the Philippines and the preparations for initiating peoples war in other countries, including in the imperialist citadels, the protracted peoples war in Nepal served to turn the set-back in the International Communist Movement into a qualitative advance, signaling the new wave of people's wars bound to rise as world imperialism drags the people of the world into more and more crisis, war and destruction.

The depth of semi-feudal / neo-colonial slavery, exploitation and degradation is such throughout the region that the oppressed masses desperately need proletarian democratic revolution. At the same time South Asia has a glorious tradition of revolutionary war of the masses. It also has several contingents of the RIM and others close to it that are seriously waging or preparing for protracted peoples war in their respective countries. The spark you have lit will continue to blaze like a wildfire following its own historic logic and trajectory, as it does throughout Nepal already. In this context, the accelerated development of the revolution in Nepal has brought mortal fear and panic to the Comprador-Bureaucratic rulers of India and to the neo-colonial states of the region. Geo-political interests and the desperate need to crush the rising wave of mass revolutionary struggle and peoples war on a South Asian scale has brought the Indian state into closer

strategic cooperation with the US and Israel. The US and India are pursuing a policy of assisting and supporting the regime in Nepal to suppress the revolution. These moves are being undertaken as part of securing South Asia and the Indian Ocean as a base area for waging the US-led global imperialist war of aggression and conquest. World imperialism, particularly US imperialism, British Imperialism and India, will try their utmost to drown the revolution in a river blood through whatever means possible, including direct invasion. But these interventions will only serve to blaze the revolutionary prairie fire throughout the sub-continent and beyond.

Your strength and your achievements from waging people's war are such that today the state and the rulers of Nepal had to negotiate for a ceasefire agreement to get some breathing space. You have entered into an Interim Government, based on a transitional program, with the Comprador-Bureaucratic State. You have also sought security guarantees from the United Nations. At this crucial juncture, the proletariat and the oppressed people of the world will look to you to take the correct decisions to consolidate the liberated base areas by strengthening the organizational unity, will and fighting capacity of the masses under the leadership of the party and to navigate the revolution through the treacherous rapids ahead towards our cherished land of Communism. The CPN-M must continue to play a critical role in building the unity of the Maoist parties and organisations internationally as part of representing and building the RIM. The CPN-M must also continue to play a critical role in building the unity of the Maoist forces in South Asia in the form of the Coordinating Committee of the Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia- COMPOSA It must play a critical role in building the World People's Resistance Movement-South Asia. In the face of the most decisive mounting global threat posed by world imperialism led by the US to the future of planet earth and of humankind through its global war of hi-tech genocidal terror, the state power established by the Protracted Peoples War in Nepal must continue to function as an advanced base area of the world revolution. It must function as an advanced base area for advancing and accelerating the South Asian revolution. This is the international and historical significance of the People's Democratic Revolution in Nepal,

# **SOME LESSONS IN APPLYING MAOISM TO CHARTING THE SCIENTIFIC PATH OF THE LANKAN REVOLUTION.**

## **1.0 INTRODUCTION.**

We have understood that Maoism is a new stage in the development of the science of Marxism-Leninism. This means, principally, that Maoism has raised (synthesized and crystallized) the theory and practice of the world proletarian socialist revolution and the class struggle in the realm of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism to a qualitatively new and higher level. The theory and practice of the communist revolution today refers to the application of the science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism to the concrete conditions of advancing the world proletarian socialist revolution. Maoism represents the science and the path of the Communist revolution and every party strives to apply it correctly and creatively to advance the world revolution, principally by advancing the proletarian revolution in their individual countries.

## **1.1 The Role of the Ceylon Communist Party-Maoist (CCP-M)**

In our case, we were fortunate to inherit the science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism which was bequeathed to us by the Ceylon Communist Party-Maoist, established by our honored leader, the late Comrade Sanmugathan. Comrade Shan established the party on the basis of defending and applying the science of MLM to the concrete conditions of the Lankan revolution, in the context of advancing the world revolution and the goal of Communism. The CCP-M was established in 1942 in the context of defending the revolutionary legacy of Comrade Stalin, the science of Marxism-Leninism, the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution and the International Communist Movement, when they came under attack from world imperialism in league with International Revisionism, principally Trotskyism, during the Second World War. The CCP-M was restructured in 1963 on the basis of defending Marxism-Leninism, the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution and the International Communist Movement, standing with Mao and the Chinese Communist Party in the historic international class struggle against Modern Revisionism headquartered in Moscow. At the historic 9th Congress held in 1969, the party upheld Marxism-Leninism- Mao Tse Tung Thought- as it was then known- and the Great Proletarian Cultural revolution, and defined the stage of the revolution as the stage of the New Democratic Revolution and its path as the path of protracted people's war. The Congress directed that the party be overhauled, rectified and revolutionized on this basis. However, instead of being rectified, restructured and revolutionized, the party went into a downward spiral of crisis and decline. As comrade Shan himself accounted for this process, there were many factors that produced the crisis. The set-back in the ICM following the loss of the Soviet Union and China, the petit bourgeois youth uprising of 1971 and the savage counter-revolutionary repression carried out by the state, and the internal splits and desertions promoted by the revisionist camp within the Chinese Embassy all served to undermine the party. However, as Comrade Shan pointed out in his self-criticism, the principal reason for the crisis and disintegration was the failure to rupture with Revisionism and to forge a correct revolutionary line, collective leadership, organization, and practice. The party had become mired in Economism. It had become isolated from the masses, from reality and from revolutionary practice. It had become effectively marginalized. Bureaucratic centralism had displaced democratic centralism. Although the CCP-M had remained in the vanguard in the international ideological class struggle, it had remained basically an open, legal, trade union center internally. It had no line, program, strategy or plan for initiating the New

Democratic Revolution through the path of protracted people's war. The party had turned revisionist, in spite of itself.

The formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement-RIM in 1984 and its Joint Declaration had the impact of arming a new generation of revolutionaries in the science of MLM and strengthening their will and capacity to undertake their revolutionary communist/ proletarian internationalist tasks. The formation of the RIM had the effect of energizing and raising two-line struggle in the party. Sharp, sometimes bitter, two-line struggle ended in another major split. However, these tendencies worked to reunify the party. CoRIM intervened to settle many outstanding disputes and grievances. This process produced results. At a Special Conference of the party held in 1991, Comrade Shan directed the party to undergo a thoroughgoing overhaul and rectification on the basis of the following ideological, political and organizational principles:

Upholding and applying the science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism

Taking the armed struggle as the principal form of struggle

Taking the People's Army as the main form of mass organization

Rebuilding the CCP-M as a secret underground, professional revolutionary party

Concentrating work in the countryside with a focus on making active preparations for initiating the New Democratic Revolution in the form of protracted people's war

A new collective leadership was given the responsibility to undertake this task as Comrade Shan was to leave the country for medical reasons. The death of Comrade Shan soon after left us like a ship without a rudder caught in the midst of a stormy sea. It would take a long and bitter process of ideological, political and organizational struggle within the party and wrenching inner struggle among a handful of honest, advanced comrades to stay on the high road of Communism and to begin to charter the path of protracted people's war practically. The party was put through many trials and ordeals. Many serious deviations and errors were made of a right opportunist nature. A long cycle of non-revolutionary inactivity and organizational lethargy had eroded the party from within. Revisionism had become even more entrenched. We remained Maoist in words and revisionists in deed. However, through all the rot of revisionism, new shoots of the future took root, gathered experience and strength, and grew as a revolutionary tendency. They made every effort to make a breakthrough in the cycle of political gloom and to find ways to plunge into the class struggle, integrate with the revolutionary masses and raise their revolutionary practice. Each advance made produced sharp contradiction and struggle between the old and the new within the party. The formation of the Anti-Imperialist People's Alliance as the Lankan unit of the World People's Resistance Forum was conceived as a major breakthrough. The enemy panicked and encircled its First Annual Conference with riot police. However, this advance proved to be too much for the old party and brought its routine revisionism out in the open. The two-line struggle became even more bitter and decisive until it erupted in a new and decisive split. The split left the party in a state of acute disintegration without an effective center. The old structure has now perished and the new party has to be built on new scientific foundations. What remains is a small nucleus of Maoist revolutionaries who have taken up the task of rebuilding the CCP-M as a completely new type of Maoist revolutionary party based on carrying out a line, program, strategy

and plan for initiating the New Democratic Revolution in the form of protracted people's war. This nucleus has made a decisive rupture in shifting its center of gravity to the countryside in order to sink roots among the most exploited workers, peasants and oppressed masses in the context of a strategic perspective of making preparations for initiating the New Democratic Revolution in the form of protracted people's war.

## **2.0 Lessons.**

### **2.1 Maoism, RIM and the Goal of Communism.**

While we were undergoing this profound process of disintegration, the only compass we had was the science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism. Whatever essence we had grasped of it. Some of us had been exposed to the class

struggle internationally- particularly the formation and development of the RIM. Only those communist revolutionaries who were based on the RIM, of which the CCP-M is a founding member, had the ability to understand the currents of the two-line struggle and to steer the boat through the rapids, in the correct direction. The RIM and CoRIM provided continuous inspiration and critical guidance. It made Maoism, Communism and Proletarian Internationalism a living force. The role of RIM in unifying, strengthening and advancing the ICM on the basis of Maoism, has been a most decisive factor for us in staying on the high road of communist revolution, as it has been for all genuine Maoist parties without exception. The glorious protracted people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru, provided a new peak of experience from which to define, grasp and apply Maoism, particularly in relation to the strategic problems of initiating and waging people's war in the oppressed countries. The two-line struggle against the right opportunist liquidationist line within the PCP and the active engagement by the RIM in advancing the two-line struggle in the course of defending the life of Comrade Gonzalo served to focus crucial questions of line and principle concerning the path of proletarian revolution. Finally, the glorious path-breaking advances of the protracted people's war in Nepal led by the CPN-M served to renew the perspective of the South Asian Revolution and to impart a new dynamic of people's war throughout the region. It heralds the emergence of a new wave of people's wars globally and regionally. The new level of principled unity established among Maoist forces in South Asia as evidenced by the formation of the Coordinating Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia – COMPOSA and the World People's Resistance Forum-South Asia ( WPRM-SA) are major developments that helped us to sharpen our own revolutionary line and orientation and raise our level of conscious struggle and practice.

### **3.0 Analysis Of The Sri Lankan Social Formation And The Theory Of The Lankan Revolution.**

We have analysed the Sri Lankan social formation as a semi-feudal/ semi-colonial country, where the principal aspect is imperialist domination. We have noticed that some parties continue to take the contradiction between feudalism and the masses as the principal aspect. In our view, this is incorrect. The main fetter on the further development of the productive forces in the oppressed countries is the production relation enforced by world imperialism. It is this universal production relation that accounts for the persistence of semi-feudal production relations within the oppressed countries and which needs to be ruptured through New Democratic Revolution. The Agrarian revolution in the countryside forms the core for building the New Democratic revolution by

principally forging the worker-peasant alliance and creating the basis for the establishment and advance of liberated base areas of the world revolution. The Agrarian revolution combines both the anti-feudal and the anti-imperialist aspects of the New Democratic revolution. However, the principal aspect determining the development and resolution of the historical contradiction between the forces and relations of production is the contradiction between imperialism and the people. Semi-feudal production relations do not exist side by side with neo-colonial production relations. The semi-feudal production relation lies embedded within and subordinated to the imperialist production relation. It is generated, reinforced and reproduced by the imperialist production relation.

There is also debate on the question of whether it is correct to use the concept of neo-colonialism. That depends on what you mean by the concept. The mode of production in the oppressed countries in general remains semi-feudal/ semi-colonial, where the latter is principal. This is the essence. However, it would be wrong to ignore the transformations that have been brought about in the mode of production and the social formation due to the new forms of domination and penetration imposed by world imperialism. These structural transformations have

been necessitated by the internal motion of the system of imperialism in conjunction with the historic advances of the October revolution and the Chinese revolution, and the rise of national liberation struggles worldwide. The fact that imperialism exercises domination through a comprador-bureaucratic state as opposed to direct rule has strategic-political implications for forging the line and path of the New Democratic Revolution. The comprador-bureaucratic state which enforces these new forms of imperialist domination and penetration has its own internal laws of motion and development. These new forms of penetration have changed the dynamics of capital and class formation and the forms of political class struggle in the oppressed countries. Feudal production and social relations continue to be subordinated and reinforced by imperialism. Yet, the peasants are, in general, more oppressed by international finance capital and world imperialism today than they are by feudal landlords. The agrarian economy is decisively determined and dominated by the imperialist production relation in conjunction with the feudal relation. The slogan of " Land to the Tiller' remains the central slogan of the Agrarian revolution. However, in general, this has to be carried out more decisively through the forcible expropriation of imperialist capital in conjunction with the expropriation of feudal landed property. The law of uneven development is such that in some countries –and in some areas in some countries- the expropriation of feudal landed property may remain the immediate political issue in mobilizing the peasants for agrarian revolutionary war. However, this does not negate the structural primacy of the imperialist production relation within semi-feudal/ neo-colonial social formations. The comprador-bureaucrat state and comprador-bureaucrat capital remain the principal targets of the New Democratic revolution, along with its semi-feudal props. These structural transformations have produced new class stratification among the peasantry and intensified the process of proletarianisation and pauperization. These developments demand and favor- rather than negate- the waging and acceleration of the New Democratic Revolution through the path of protracted people's war.

#### **4.0 National Oppression And National Liberation Struggle.**

National oppression has intensified a thousand fold under neo-colonialism. The comprador-bureaucratic state has not only perpetuated national oppression by subjugating the whole country



to imperialism, it has intensified internal oppression of nations, nationalities, ethnic-religious minorities, oppressed castes and women, leading to advanced forms of national liberation struggle and people's resistance targeting the comprador-bureaucratic state. In our case the subjugation and violent suppression of the Tamil nation living predominantly in the North-East has given rise to a protracted war of national liberation led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The state, having failed to crush it by semi-fascist, genocidal military force, has now decided to negotiate some form of accommodation with the Tamil national liberation movement. The current peace negotiations are aimed at politically and diplomatically encircling, disarming and co-opting the Tamil National Liberation struggle with the LTTE as a junior partner in enforcing the system of neo-colonial subjugation in the island and the region- in the manner of a Yasser Arafat and the PLO. The negotiations are promoted by the entire imperialist system. The US and India are functioning as the principal guarantors of the Sri Lankan state. The World Bank, IMF, ADB all have pledged massive loans to bail out the state and bribe the national liberation movement and the masses into submission. Ballots and bribes are supposed to accomplish what bullets could not. The US is seeking to penetrate and entrench undisputed strategic hegemony in the island and the region- in cooperation with India. Both these powers, and the world imperialist system, are seeking to enforce new conditions of relative political stability as a way of pursuing the global war of imperialist conquest led by the US, even while these powers contend among each other to advance their own strategic interests at the expense of the rest. For our part, we have steadfastly upheld the right of national self-determination of the oppressed Tamil nation, in the context of advancing a transitional revolutionary democratic program.

We had made serious deviations in applying this line. We have tended to tail the Tamil national liberation struggle on a non-revolutionary, bourgeois democratic basis, as opposed to building and preparing the party for waging protracted people's war. We have summed up our deviations. What we have learnt from this experience is that it is crucial to analyse concretely the interpenetration and mutual reinforcement between the class and the national questions. It is possible that, under concrete circumstances, while the class question remains fundamental, the national question and the struggle for national self-determination of oppressed nations can occupy the principal factor driving the political class struggle. As it is, the national question has come to occupy the principal question that is driving the masses towards political life. The racist-fascist- militarist forces are calling for renewed war and is opposing any political settlement. The masses, in general, favor a negotiated democratic political settlement. We have advanced the slogan of a democratic peace which secures the unity, dignity, equality, autonomy, security and national democratic rights for all the oppressed nations and nationalities, while calling for resistance against the efforts of the US, India and the imperialist system to further subjugate the Tamil nation and the people of Lanka in the guise of a peaceful settlement. We have done so on the basis of calling for a thoroughgoing New Democratic Revolution to overthrow the comprador-bureaucratic state and imperialism as the only basis to achieve such a democratic peace.

## **5.0 Building A Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party Of A New Type**

The most fundamental lesson we have learned by our effort to apply Marxism-Leninism- Maoism to the concrete problems of the Lanka revolution is that it is crucial and fundamental to focus party work on making all- round preparations for initiating the New Democratic Revolution in the form of protracted people's war. This has to be done by identifying the principal contradiction that is moving the other contradictions forward at any given time, and applying the proper slogans for

winning hearts and minds and accumulating/ organizing forces. However, to undertake any of these activities, it is first of all necessary to forge the nucleus of a professional, secret-underground, militarized Leninist vanguard Maoist Party. For this, the nucleus has to be trained in the science of MLM through the process of developing and applying a revolutionary line, program, strategy and plan of preparations for initiating people's war. This is the only way to lay the foundations for building a militarized Maoist party of a new type. We had to deal with a major right opportunist tendency that claimed that first we have to build the party and then engage in the class struggle. This meant that we had to build the party in some elitist incubator divorced from the masses and from revolutionary practice. Years have gone by and still these bourgeois gentlemen have not been able to forge a nucleus of a Maoist revolutionary party.

The party is to be built on the basis of applying proletarian internationalism in a living creative way. While proletarian internationalism refers to defending and advancing the correct revolutionary line, leadership, organization and practice in all individual countries and internationally, it also means that we have to subordinate and integrate our revolutionary struggle with that of the world revolution. In the present world-historical context, this means principally building the RIM and forging the new Fourth International by strengthening the initiatives, programs and actions called for by the RIM, internationally, regionally and within the individual countries. At this particular moment in history, we have to unite firmly to build the RIM, while uniting with all revolutionary, democratic, progressive class forces to resist the US-led global imperialist- terrorist war agenda. The US-led global imperialist- terrorist war is a reflection of a new spiral of crisis of the world imperialist system. While there is collusion among the various imperialist and regional sub-imperialist powers to preserve the system, there is sharp contention over sharing the spoils of profit and plunder in the context of expanding one's own empire at the expense of all others. What this means is a general intensification of exploitation, subjugation and violent counter-revolutionary repression of the proletariat, oppressed masses and oppressed nations and peoples on a global scale, along with the intensification of inter-imperialist rivalry and contention for world domination. This creates the basis to accelerate the world revolution in the form of a new wave of people's wars starting from the storm centers and weak links and spreading like a prairie fire across the globe. This spiral of crisis, war and revolution has already visited the imperialist citadels where millions of progressive forces have begun to mount the stage of history to resist the new wave of globalised imperialist aggression and destruction.

## **6.0 Tasks Of The Maoists In The Rising World-Historic Conjuncture**

The South Asian region remains a storm center of the world revolution. The comprador-feudal states in the region have openly declared their intention to coordinate the counter-revolution and are rapidly preparing to drown the peoples revolution in rivers of blood. In this context, the US, in partnership with India, have penetrated the region strategically as never before. The Indian state is being beefed up as the principal gendarme of South Asia with US backing. They are planning how to crush the peoples revolution and liberation struggles in Nepal, India, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Kashmir. Sri Lanka is a valued prize in this global-regional project due to its strategic importance in controlling the Indian Ocean and the region. In this rising objective situation, genuine Maoists have to strengthen their unity and build their collective capacity to resist the global-regional counter-revolution by accelerating their all-round preparations for the establishment, expansion and consolidation of liberated base areas of the world revolution through the path of people's war, in accordance with the concrete conditions. In order to advance

the world revolution through radical breakthroughs and qualitative leaps it is necessary to unite firmly behind the task of building the RIM as the embryonic center of the new Fourth International. Only the RIM has the line, leadership and organizational principles based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to unify and guide the world revolution at the present conjuncture towards our cherished goal of Communism.

## Open Letter To Genuine Communist Revolutionary Forces.

By: Comrade Surendra: Chairman: Ceylon Communist Party-Maoist

We have all experienced the disintegration of the proletarian revolutionary movement in our country. This is a tragic development given the historic challenges and opportunities facing the international proletariat and the oppressed people of the world. While many have abandoned revolution and sought secure pastures, others have stayed on the high road of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Socialism and Communism, upholding the crimson path of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. Some of us, along with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), have adopted Maoism as the highest stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism, while upholding the path of the new democratic revolution and protracted people's war. Some have formed rival parties claiming the legacy of the CCP-M and of Comrade Shan. Some have formed small groups to sustain their own class limitations and personal needs. However, all these trends remain divorced from scientific revolutionary practice, from the masses, and from concrete reality. Their activity has no link to advancing the revolutionary class struggle towards the goal of Communism. It can be said with confidence that only a very few of us are working actively and seriously to turn the crisis of our movement into a forward leap and advance by building a Maoist Communist Party of a new type as the principal task. At the heart of turning this crisis around is the task of rebuilding the Ceylon Communist Party- Maoist, on solid scientific foundations. The CCP-M built by Comrade Shan is our common historical legacy. We all owe our revolutionary origins and traditions to the CCP-M. It enshrines the legacy of uncompromising struggle of the proletarian revolutionary forces against Imperialism, Trotskyism, Modern Revisionism, Chauvinism, Opportunism and Reaction, based on defending and advancing the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The CCP-M, above all else, has protected the red the banner of the world revolution and the path of Communism concentrated in the science of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism, internationally and in the Land of Lanka.

At the same time, it is admitted that the CCP-M has disintegrated internally, over a protracted period of time. It has disintegrated principally due to the inability to forge a correct revolutionary line, leadership and organization in accordance with the concrete conditions of the Lankan revolution. It has disintegrated due to the failure to build a professional Leninist revolutionary party with the central aim of organizing the revolutionary armed struggle of the masses towards accomplishing the central task of the seizure and exercise of people's democratic state power through the path of protracted people's war. Although the objective conditions have long been ripening for such a breakthrough in the class struggle, the subjective forces- particularly the collective leadership of the party- have been lagging behind. The collective leadership of the CCP-M have had serious class limitations in approaching the problems of the Lankan revolution. Many opportunities have been lost. Many serious political and organizational deviations have been made. The lack of a correct revolutionary line, collective leadership and organization has been, and continues to be, the principal reason for the internal disintegration of the CCP-M. As a consequence, the CCP-M had got infested with non-proletarian, bourgeois and petit-bourgeois tendencies and remained trapped in the mire of opportunism and revisionism. Organisational lethargy had fed into the gloom of political slavery, until it simply disintegrated with the accumulated rot. All that remains today is the conscious will and determination of a core of

genuine Maoist revolutionary forces dedicated to rebuilding the CCP-M on new scientific foundations.

However, the CCP-M, throughout this period, has exerted efforts to live up to its internationalist responsibilities as a founding member of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, while carrying out sharp, sometimes bitter, two-line struggle inside the party to forge the correct revolutionary line, leadership and organization. The CCP-M lives in the untiring efforts of the few Maoist revolutionary forces who are determined to rebuild it against all odds. The roots of the CCP-M lie deep in the soil of our class. The legacy of Comrade Shan, of the CCP-M and of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism are the same. To claim one, you have to claim the others. All else is sheer deception. Let us rise to the occasion. Let us unite to rebuild the CCP-M. Let us engage in open and frank summation and discussion and bring our rich experience together, even while we sharpen the blades of criticism and self-criticism in order to slice away the revisionist rot that has accumulated through the past. Comrades, the need of the hour is to forge our principled unity to rebuild the Ceylon Communist Party-Maoist as the vanguard detachment of the International Proletariat, so we may rise to our tasks and responsibilities in these the most momentous times faced by the people.

**FORWARD ALONG THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTIONARY PATH OF MARXISM-LENINISM- MAOISM!**

**VICTORY TO THE WORLD PROLETARIAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.**

**LIBERATE THE LAND OF LANKA AS A BASE AREA OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION.**